

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

JULY/AUGUST 1977

NATIONAL MEDIA MONITOR/PRESS • RADIO • TV

PHOSVEL

menaced
workers,
tardy press



LOS ANGELES

Hearst's
endangered
daily



SWINE FLU

the media
as a mirror
of confusion



CJ MCR7ZE300X084
XEROX U MICROFILMS
SERIALS
300 NO ZEEB RD
ANN ARBOR MICH

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48106

Box or menthol:

Carlton

is

lowest.

See how Carlton stacks down in tar.
Look at the latest U.S. Government figures for:

The 10 top selling cigarettes

	tar mg. / cigarette	nicotine mg. / cigarette
Brand P Non-Filter	25	1.6
Brand C Non-Filter	23	1.4
Brand W	19	1.2
Brand W 100	19	1.2
Brand M	18	1.1
Brand S Menthol	18	1.2
Brand S Menthol 100	18	1.2
Brand BH 100	18	1.0
Brand M Box	17	1.0
Brand K Menthol	17	1.4

Other cigarettes that call themselves low in "tar"

	tar mg. / cigarette	nicotine mg. / cigarette
Brand P Box	15	0.8
Brand K Mild	14	0.9
Brand W Lights	13	0.9
Brand M Lights	13	0.8
Brand D	13	0.9
Brand D Menthol	11	0.8
Brand V Menthol	11	0.7
Brand V	10	0.7
Brand M Menthol	8	0.5
Brand M	8	0.5
Carlton Soft Pack	1	0.1
Carlton Menthol	less than 1	0.1
Carlton Box	less than *1	*0.1

*Av. per cigarette by FTC method



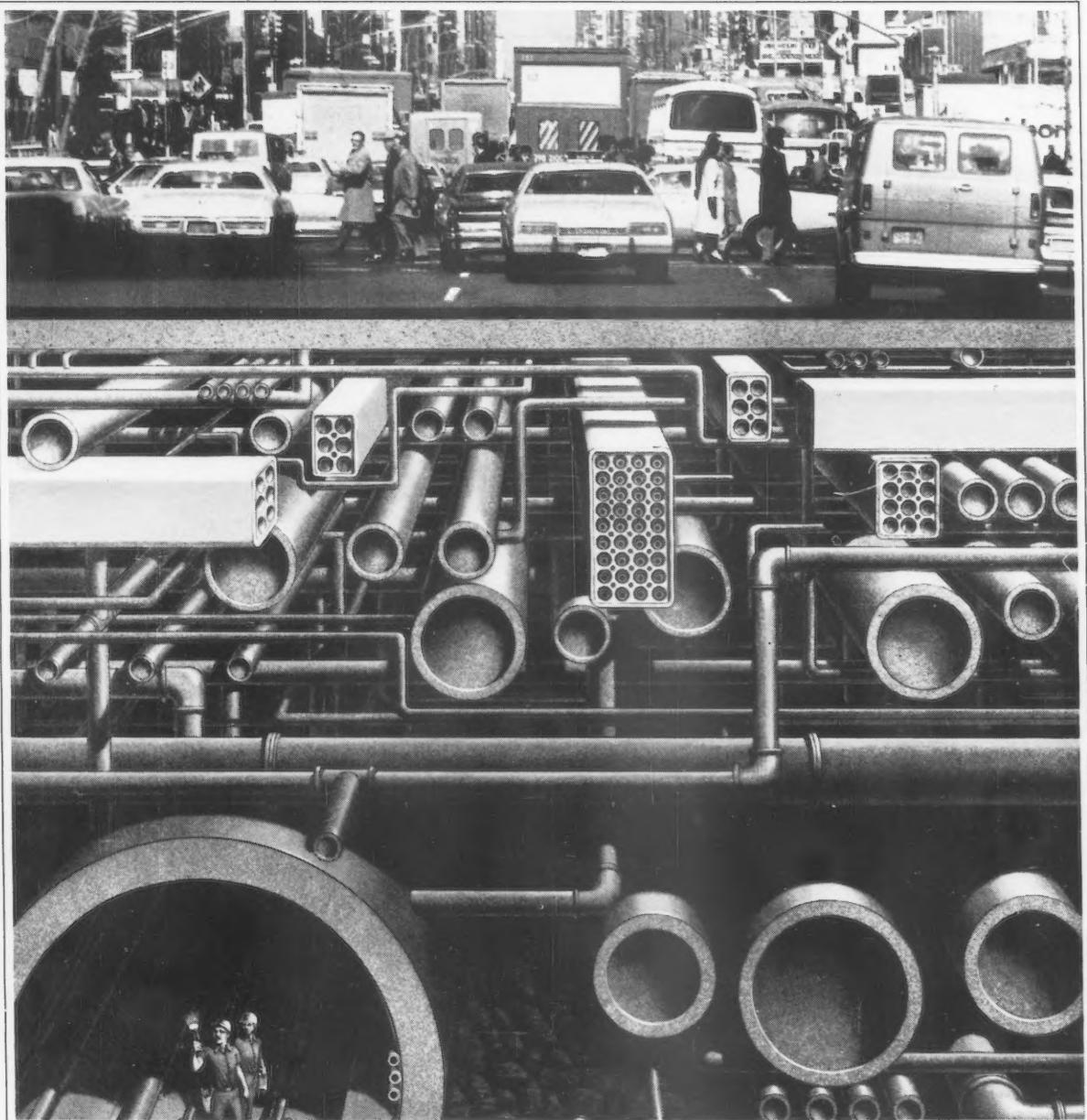
Soft pack-1 mg.
Menthол-less than 1 mg.
Box*-less than 1 mg.

Less than 1 mg. tar.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Of all brands, lowest...Carlton 70: less than 0.5 mg. tar,
.05 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report DEC. '76.

Soft Pack and Menthол: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report DEC. '76.
Box: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.



Some of the worst traffic jams you never see.

If you think city streets are becoming congested, you should see what's happening beneath them.

Communication cables under the streets get busier almost every day. They're carrying more and more telephone calls, computer data, TV signals—electronic traffic of all kinds.

In city after city, it seems the only way to keep up is to tear up the streets, and install more conduits for more cables.

Well, the people of ITT have come up with a different answer—optical fibers. Threads of ultrapure glass, almost as slender as a

human hair. Over these fibers, we can communicate by light—laser light.

ITT has pioneered a way to do this, practically and economically.

Eventually, we could replace today's underground cables with cables of optical fibers no thicker than an ordinary pencil—expanding capacity by carrying thousands of times more information in the same space.

We could end the congestion below our streets, without tearing them up to do it.

The best ideas are the ideas that help people. **ITT**

DRIVE A CAR THAT IMPRESSES PEOPLE WHO AREN'T EASILY IMPRESSED.

A lot of cars will impress your neighbors.

But when you buy a Volvo, you'll own a car that impresses a more impressive group of people.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

The U.S. government recently bought 24 Volvos. All 24 are being tested in high-speed collisions.

Out of the wreckage will emerge information which the government will use to help establish safety standards for cars in the future.

It was no accident that the government selected Volvo for this safety program. Of all the cars involved in preliminary crash-testing, Volvo showed significantly greater potential for occupant protection than any car in its class.

G.M. AND FORD

Between them, G.M. and Ford have bought 13 Volvos to study and analyze.

After years of following the "bigger is better" philosophy, they're introducing "trim, sensibly-sized" cars.

Maybe they feel there's something to be learned from a company that's been making trim, sensibly-sized cars for 50 years.

THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

California has the strictest automobile emissions requirements in the nation.

And they get stricter all the time.

While some car makers were loudly protesting that these requirements could not be met, Volvo was quietly working on a new type of emissions control system that would not only meet these standards, but exceed them.

This system, called "Lambda Sond," will be on every 1977 Volvo 240 series car sold in California. The California Air Resources Board is very impressed. They've called it "virtually pollution free... the most significant step ever made in the battle to develop clean automobiles."

VOLVO OWNERS

The ultimate test of any car is how the owner feels about it.

Volvo owners seem to be happier than the owners of other cars.

In fact, when new Volvo owners were asked in a recent nationwide survey how they felt about their cars, more of them said they were "completely satisfied" or "very satisfied"

than did the owners of any car made by G.M., Ford, Chrysler or American Motors.

Now that you know who's impressed with Volvos, you can take a test drive and impress the most important person of all: yourself.



VOLVO

The car for people who think.

© 1977 VOLVO OF AMERICA CORPORATION. LEASING AVAILABLE.

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To assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define — or redefine — standards of honest, responsible service . . . to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent

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CITIVIEWS

CITIVIEWS is distributed quarterly to Citicorp investors. It contains viewpoints on timely issues affecting the public interest. We believe the following may be of interest to you...

The Spirit of Laws

Scientists and lawyers deal with different kinds of laws. The laws of nature which the scientist tries to discover are inviolable. The law of gravitation, for example, or Newton's three laws of motion, cannot be disobeyed.

Human laws do not share this characteristic. The moral obligation imposed by man-made laws results precisely from the fact that it is possible to break them. That is why everyone censures an outlaw but no one blames the falling apple.

This fundamental distinction is of such ancient origin, its truth so apparent, that one should scarcely need to mention it. Except that there are times in the history of civilizations when the difference seems to be forgotten, and ours is preeminently one of them. A substantial number of Americans now make it their business to examine the interstices of our society for unregulated areas where some spontaneous act of free will might cause trouble. This they diligently try to forestall, apparently in hope of establishing in the realm of human affairs a predictability to rival what we find in the realm of physical nature, where everything happens of necessity, or not at all.

This demand for the perfect, uniform code of conduct is a recurrent phenomenon, and books on the subject have clothed the walls of many spacious libraries. There is, for example, a notable one by Montesquieu, in which he observes:

...the intelligent world is far from being so well governed as the physical....This is because, on the one hand, particular intelligent beings are of a finite nature, and consequently liable to error; and on the other, their nature requires them to be free agents....

Montesquieu called his book *The Spirit of Laws* because he said, "...I do not pretend to treat of laws, but of their spirit; and...this spirit consists in the various relations which the laws may bear to different objects...." And that may well be the crux of our problem: Too many of our laws have the wrong objectives.

Everyone from the President of the United States to the hot dog vendor on a New York street corner cries out against the torrent of indecipherable government regulations, yet the real affliction is not what the regulations say, but the spirit that motivates both them and the laws supporting them. Our lawmakers and regulators alike seem to have forgotten that they are not physicists, and that we are not mere physical bodies or quanta of energy swarming about in space, but intelligent beings whose nature requires us to be free agents.

Commendable efforts are now under way to simplify the rules and regulations, if not the laws, by writing them in plainer English, and for this no citizen can fail to be grateful. Can we also hope that when the thickets of ambiguity have

been cut away, someone will then take a hard look at what remains? For, if the intent of a rule is wrong to begin with, it cannot be made right by simplifying its language.

It is equally true that even if all our laws and regulations could be translated into models of precision and clarity, there would still be too many of them. In the long run, they are defeating their own purpose because they have increasingly narrow applications.

Their generality has been, in the tradition of jurisprudence, the basis for differentiating rules of law from particular decisions or decrees. This naturally leads to the question of whether the words "law" and "regulation" should be used interchangeably. The answer is No—but they are.

It was either Madison or Hamilton, writing as "Publius" in *The Federalist Papers*, who warned:

It will be of little avail to the people that the laws are made by men of their own choice, if the laws be so voluminous that they cannot be read, or so incoherent that they cannot be understood... or undergo such incessant changes that no man, who knows what the law is to-day, can guess what it will be to-morrow.

That was part of the argument for making our Senate a continuing body, under the Constitution, rather than a periodic assemblage of part-time legislators. Obviously, it did not solve the problem.

What the Founding Fathers did not anticipate, of course, was the phe-

nomenal growth of "regulatory" agencies which, in the course of insuring that our laws were properly executed, would imperceptibly assume the mantle of legislators. It is unfortunate that our founders could not foresee this, because then they might have left us some suggestions concerning what to do about it. Most of them were, after all, disciples of John Locke, who was quite emphatic in his belief that "...the legislative cannot transfer the power of making laws to any other hands, for it being but a delegated power from the people, they who have it cannot pass it over to others...."

The constitutionality of our modern regulatory system is, however, beyond serious question, the expenditure of vast wealth and millions of hours of litigation having long since confirmed it. Our last, best hope may be for a new spirit of self-restraint among the regulators, and more concern by the legislators about what is being done with their laws.

At the moment, there are more signs of the concern than the restraint. Maybe it would help to remind those who persist in the dream of an American society as well regulated and predictable as Isaac Newton's Universe that the first of his laws has a name.

It is called Inertia.

There are plenty of signs of this, too.

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COMMENT

The Nixon melodrama

Almost every president who survives his term comes back for curtain calls in a setting of his own choosing. Calvin Coolidge wrote a homespun column. Harry Truman gave a combative series of lectures on television. Dwight Eisenhower settled for leisurely walks around his Gettysburg farm with Walter Cronkite.

Not even Richard Nixon could decline the opportunity. In *The Nixon Interviews* he found a format marvelously tailored to the embattled protagonist of *Six Crises* and *The Final Days*, a quasi-adversary proceeding. While the camera scanned every facial muscle for traces of guilt, Nixon matched wits with Nemesis in the person of the well-prepared David Frost. It was solid Nixonian theater, and it earned not only an immense audience, but the envy of the networks, which had been unwilling to equal the million-dollar package that Frost reportedly offered his star.

But was the show also news? Or, rather, was it its news value alone that commandeered the covers of two national news magazines and, repeatedly, the front pages of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*? Granted, Nixon's exposure had considerable inherent historical value, but the fact that the greatest splash preceded, rather than followed, the interviews suggests that much of the attention stemmed from the Frost organization's unusually clever manipulation — tossing bits of bait here and there and eventually fomenting the familiar media shark feast, with trend-setters making the water boil while they tried to beat one another to each morsel. There is much to admire in the reserve of the untrendy *U.S. News & World Report*, which relegated the first interview to three quiet pages in the middle of the magazine.

'Right in the puss'

Nixon comments on the press, from his fourth David Frost interview, broadcast May 25, 1977:

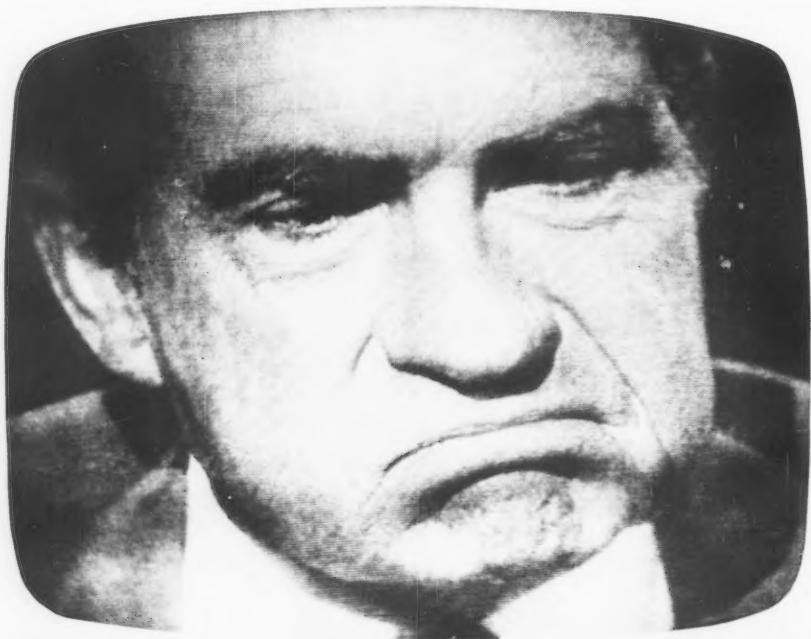
As far as Spiro Agnew is concerned, I would say that because he was conservative, because he was one who took on the press, he got a lot rougher treatment that would have been the case had he been one of the liberals' favorite pin-up boys.

As far as my attitude toward the press is concerned, I respect some, but for those who write history as fiction on third-hand knowledge, I have nothing but utter contempt. And I will never forgive them. Never.

You have to bear in mind, you and the media . . . you have here a very interesting decision of the Supreme Court, *Sullivan v. New York Times*, which is really a license for the media to lie.

Let's just not have all this sanctimonious business about the poor repressed press. I went through it through all the years I've been in public life, and they never have been repressed as far as I am concerned.

I don't want them repressed, but believe me, when they take me on, or when they take any public figure on . . . I think the public figure ought to come back and crack 'em right in the puss.



The Dutch treat libel case

Libel suits totaling \$30 million were filed in November 1976 against the Hearst Corporation and two reporters, Raul Ramirez, a *San Francisco Examiner* staffer, and Lowell Bergman, a free-lancer. The suits, which grew out of their three-part *Examiner* series about a Chinatown murder, were brought by two San Francisco homicide inspectors and a former district attorney after a key prosecution witness, who had recanted his testimony to the reporters, allegedly withdrew his recantation.

In the early stages of preparing their defense, the two reporters chose or were finessed into choosing (accounts differ) their own lawyer. The *Examiner*, in turn, informed them that it would not pay for outside legal counsel. A defense fund then was formed for them.

There is disagreement about who is more responsible, the reporters or the *Examiner*'s lawyers, for the fact that the paper apparently will not pay the legal expenses of reporters whose stories it printed. But the essential point is surely the same no matter who abandoned whom: the *Examiner* ought to be paying for their defense.

There is ample precedent for doing so. Five publications have agreed as part of their Newspaper Guild contracts to pay, in cases involving professional obligations, for lawyers of the employees' choice. They include *The New York Times*, the *Akron Beacon Journal*, *The York (Pennsylvania) Dispatch*, *The Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader/The Evening News/Wilkes-Barre Record*, and *The New Republic*. Four others will do the same if long-term legal representation becomes necessary: *The Philadelphia Inquirer/Philadelphia Daily News*, *The Jersey Journal* (Jersey City), Reuters, and Scholastic Magazines.

Hearst executives instead seem to have seized upon a pretext, or an opportunity, to avoid financial responsibility. Their reluctance may be related to their having agreed out-of-court last July to pay the Synanon Foundation \$600,000, the largest libel settlement on record.

The paper still faces a \$50-million civil conspiracy suit filed by Synanon, which accuses the Hearst Corporation and its lawyers of attempting "to injure the plaintiffs financially" while the libel suit was under litigation.

Under these circumstances, it would be understandable if Ramirez and Bergman felt safer with their own lawyer. At this writing, it seems unlikely that the Hearst Corporation will be footing the bill. Contributions to the reporters' defense may be sent to: Bergman-Ramirez Defense Fund, c/o Media Alliance, 13 Columbus Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94111.

Libel and laurels

Dart: to the *Chicago Sun-Times*, for its May 4 "PhotoOpinion," an inquiring-reporter feature asking four passersby, "Did you watch Richard Nixon's TV interview?" Their considered photo-opinions appeared in print in the 5 P.M. edition — more than two hours before the program was aired.

Dart: to *Change*, "the magazine of higher education," for rejecting a manuscript dealing with political favoritism in the distribution of the federal Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Ed-

Libel suit

The issues of November/December 1972, March/April 1973, and May/June 1973, carried an article and responsive comments concerning the regrettable demise of a major American newspaper, *The (Newark) Evening News*. The article and some of the responsive comments were objected to by Richard B. Scudder, former publisher of the *Evening News*, who subsequently filed a defamation action in the New Jersey Courts. The lawsuit has now been dismissed based upon the concurrence of all concerned that the article and the responsive comments were not intended to impugn Mr. Scudder's personal integrity.

cation on the ground that since the magazine itself draws funds from the agency, such an article "would not be in the best interests of journalism."

Darts: to *The National Observer* and *The New York Times* for printing a misleading photograph (below) in connection with their respective March 19 and

Official U.S. Border Patrol Photograph



April 22 stories on illegal aliens. Appearing to be of current vintage, the ever-popular picture (of a Mexican youth found strapped to the underside of a vehicle stopped at the Tijuana border) is in fact almost twenty years old. According to the senior patrol agent on the scene at the time of apprehension, the picture was taken April 16, 1958.

Laurel: to Nina Totenberg and National Public Radio, for an April 1 *All Things Considered* report of a multi-million-dollar lawsuit in which Chief Justice Warren Burger and New York Senator Jacob Javits are charged, among others, as unnamed defendants in the cover-up of a death caused by a secret Army drug testing program in 1953.

Dart: to *Broadcasting*, for its May 9 "Special Report" — a thirty-page love letter to ABC, dotted with advertising kisses from the network and its affiliated stations.

Laurel: to Michael C. Jensen and *The New York Times*, for a May 10 front-page survey of the army of ex-senators and former cabinet officials, the war chest of fat fees to legal and p.r. firms, and the strategic political relationships and old school ties being pressed into service in that all-time all-out lobbying

offensive, the selling of the Concorde.

Dart: to the *Chicago Daily News*, for a Wednesday food section that offers such picks of the p.r. crop as produce advice from the president of Strube Celery and Vegetable Company and meat counsel by the president of the National Livestock & Meat Board.

The limbo of pseudo-news

On April 28 *The Wall Street Journal* ran a front-page story headlined SOLAR-ENERGY DEVICES ABOUND, BUT MANY ARE USELESS OR INEFFICIENT. After describing the solar-energy boom, Bernard Wysocki, Jr., a staff reporter, wrote: "The problem for the consumer, of course, is separating the rip-offs from the real thing. . . . Many devices on the market today just don't do the job the maker or distributors say they will."

Four days later, *The National Observer*, another Dow Jones newspaper, published a sixteen-page journalistic rip-off on the solar-energy boom — a tabloid-sized supplement bearing the banner headline THE SOLAR AGE IS ABOUT TO BE BORN. The twenty-two ar-

ticles it contained were advertisements dressed up as news: each page was labeled "advertisement," but each was also laid out like a newspaper, with headlines, by-lines, photographs, and graphs. Display advertisements were juxtaposed with advertisements disguised as news stories. Some of the stories carried no by-line; others carried a by-line but no identification; still others were signed by such people as S. H. Butt, president, Solar Energy Industries Association; Joe D. Schillinger, marketing director, Honeywell Energy Resources Center; and Paul A. Anderson, manager of building construction products of Copper Development Association, Inc. The "news" from the solar-energy front was all good. Three typical headlines read: 2020 VISION? THAT'S THE YEAR EVERYONE WILL HAVE SOLAR HEAT; ELECTRICITY FOR FREE? SOON, WITH "POWER TOWER"; SOLAR HEAT CAN PAY FOR ITSELF IN SAVINGS.

Optimistic predictions often took precedence over more cautious assessments. Thus, for example, an unsigned article that appeared on the front page of the supplement assured readers that "your investment [in a solar water heater]

is recouped in 6½ years, which translates into a 15 percent annual return"; in his *Journal* article, however, Wysocki had pointed out that, according to a New England Electric System expert, "early results show that solar water heaters won't recover their costs in reduced electric bills for 18 to 20 years. . . ." (Readers in search of an antidote to the *Observer's* corporate puffery may want to read PUTTING A METER ON THE SUN, by Joe Conason, in the May 7 *Real Paper*.)

Over the last year, *The National Observer* has run four other special supplements, on traveling to various states and countries and all over the world. A box accompanying the Florida travel supplement, published last November, announced enigmatically: "This section will appear from time to time. The editorial matter is selected by the paper's news department." The box was dropped from subsequent supplements. Who, then, put together the solar-energy supplement? "We hired outside people with expertise in the field to write the editorial matter," Fred Sibley, special projects manager at *The National Observer*, said. The group hired was The Hirsch Organization, a financial advi-

Other opinions

I have an unfashionable view on the way the proper range of programs can be provided — unfashionable because we live at a time when large organizations are suspect, power is being devolved, and small (as the expression goes) is beautiful. My belief is that in broadcasting the opposite is true and that big is beautiful. It is only through size and self-confidence that the broadcasters can be independent and resist pressures in a way necessary to insure the basic function of providing objective information. Only a large popular organization can have a relationship with the whole of society and not just parts of it. The knowledge of such a relationship is necessary for the assurance that makes genuine minority broadcasting possible, not as something provided for prestige ("prestige" meant originally "illusion" or "imposture") or because it is pre-

scribed by some external authority, but as something needed and thirsted after if it is not available. — P. H. Newby, novelist and director of BBC Radio, in the 1977 Haldane Memorial Lecture at Birkbeck College, University of London

The system of the White House press neither punishes incompetence nor rewards competence. A reporter can make fifty phone calls and try to chase down administration officials all day and still end up with essentially the same story as the guy who spent the afternoon scratching his fanny. — Jody Powell, presidential press secretary, quoted by Mitchell Stephens in *New Times*, May 13, 1977

Too many of us have isolated ourselves from large areas of life, becoming apathetic about the interests of assembly-line workers, gas-station attendants, or clerical employees. Too often we have accepted the proposition that we

must be soporific to be significant and colorless to be credible. Too often we appear oblivious to changes in life styles and buying habits. Too many newspapers the world over seem more preoccupied with covering the machinery of government rather than the lives of the governed. Too often they appear to be engaged in solemn dialogue with themselves. Too often the tedium is the message! — Rupert Murdoch, publisher of the *New York Post*, speech to U.P.I. meeting, San Francisco, April 26, 1977

I suggest that the press has an educational role with a candid bias for the preservation of this political system. . . . The press, which enjoys great privileges in our free society, has a certain responsibility to perpetuate the society in which it flourishes. — John B. Connally, before the Houston Press Club (text in *The New York Times*, May 2, 1977)

"CALL ME AND I'LL SEND YOU A CLIP FILE ON THE TELEPHONE COMPETITION CONTROVERSY!"

A message from George E. Pickett, Executive Vice President of the U.S. Independent Telephone Association. Representing the 1,600 non-Bell System telephone companies serving one-half the nation's geography with 28 million telephones.

The Federal Communications Commission's policies fostering "constrained competition" will likely force home phone rates up as much as 60 per cent in the next decade — exclusive of inflation. An objective study arrived at that projection.

As many of you know, the FCC has authorized non-phone companies to compete with phone companies in providing customer equipment and intercity private line phone service for business firms.

Healthy competition? Not really — judging by the actual impact the average consumer can expect.

A phone company loses money on the home phone. But revenue from long distance calls and business phone service makes up the difference. The FCC-fostered competition can skim off some of our most profitable business, leaving the phone companies to provide obligatory services where costs are highest. This loss must be offset by more revenue from other sources, under usual utility regulatory policy.

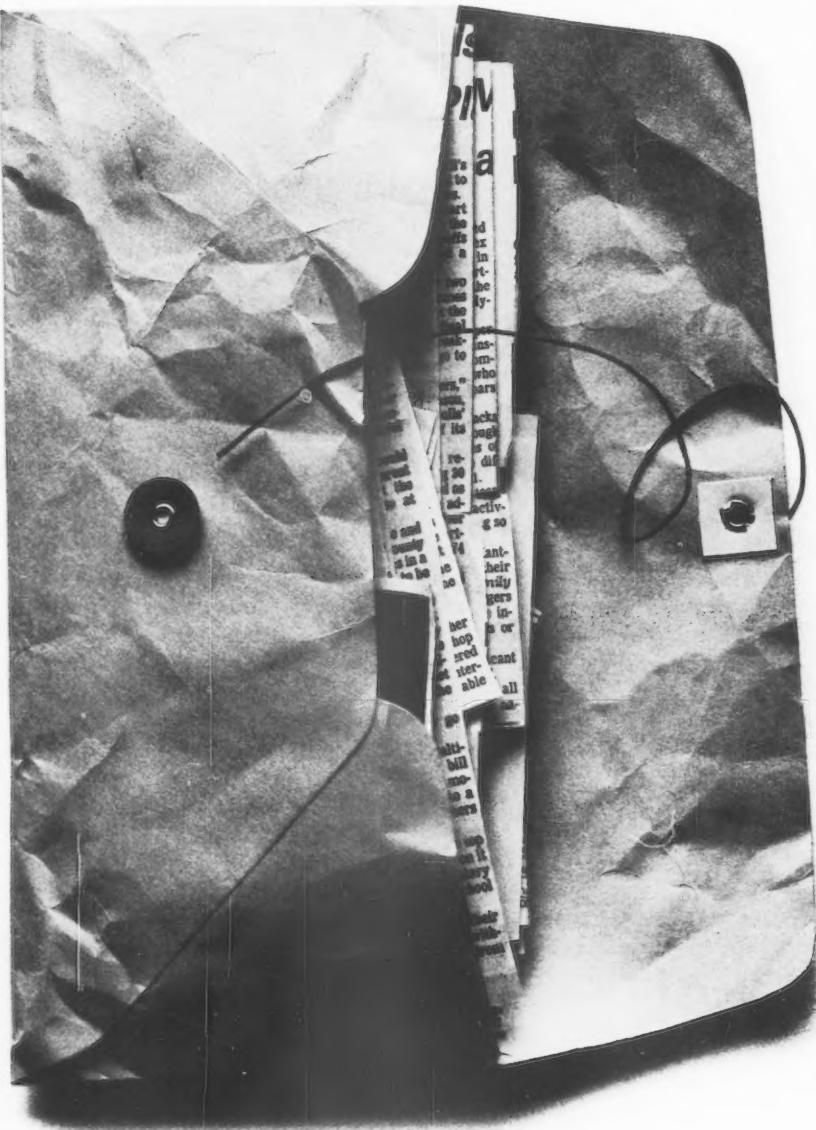
You see why we call it a consumer issue. And it's now before Congress. The issue is complex — and calls for the informed, objective light which the news media can cast with their research and insight.

To help with your research, we've assembled an informative clip file full of background facts, figures, and all the pros and cons. The clips cover key sources from both sides of the issue — making the materials authoritative.

We believe you will find the clip file objective and useful. We look forward to your call or letter.

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U.S. Independent Telephone Association
Attn: Competition Clip File
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Washington, D.C. 20006



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So widely used, and useable, it now flies to more places, more often, than any other wide-cabin jet.

Airlines like the remarkable reliability and unmatched fuel efficiency of the DC-10. Passengers — more than 100,000 each day — appreciate its smooth flight, wide seats, big windows, high ceilings, attractive lighting and the uncommon quiet of the cabin.

DC-10s serve 150 cities on six continents. Take one on your next trip. You'll be pleased — and so will we.

Building jetliners and spacecraft and fighter planes occupies much of our time, but it also creates a healthy climate for creativity that can yield surprising results. For example, the space age technology that insulated and contained liquid hydrogen on Saturn moon rockets is now being applied in an improved method for ocean shipment of super-cold liquid natural gas (LNG). The insulation being produced by our



Astronautics Company provides added safety for shipment of the fuel, offers increased cargo loads for existing ship designs, or permits greater capacity in new small ships. We can't do it alone. Our insulation material must be joined with a metal barrier designed by Gaz-Transport of France, and of course, a ship to carry it. But if you have tankers, or build them, ask us about insulation. We'll know what you mean.

Our engineers, once concerned with the health of astronauts, were encouraged to turn their wits to broader problems of health care. The result — an automatic system for identifying infectious organisms in patient samples, such as urine. The system also identifies, for attending physicians, the antibiotics most likely to counter the malady.



This AutoMicrobic™ System, designed and built by McDonnell Douglas and marketed by Fisher Scientific, eliminates

**You'd expect McDonnell Douglas
to build the reliable and popular DC-10...**

**...but would you expect us to keep
natural gas super-cold, help train pilots
and make electricity from the sun?**



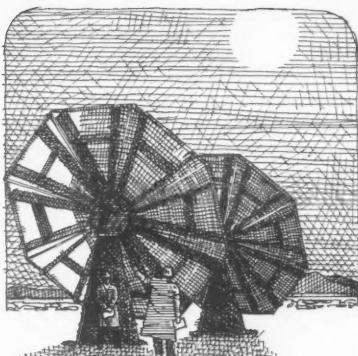
many repetitive tasks now performed manually, freeing technicians for more useful work.

The disposable test kits that receive the patient samples for analysis are filled with growth-stimulating nutrients. Growth in these kits is automatically monitored and results are displayed to hospital personnel and printed out as reports. Now being sold for organism identification, the system is awaiting FDA approval of its antibiotic mode.

Fuel conservation is becoming a necessity to airlines with soaring fuel costs. Our Electronics division uses digital computers to create scenes through the windshield for pilot training simulators. They're so realistic that Federal regulators

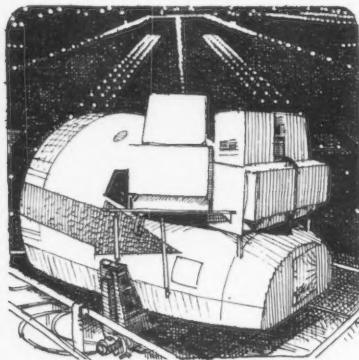
now permit ground training for a dozen pilot training maneuvers that once required costly training flights. One airline, using several of our VITAL systems, claims fuel savings of 4 million gallons a year. Systems are now being introduced for military pilots to let them train for formation flying, carrier landings, air refuelling, even for combat, all without leaving the ground. Money is saved, time is saved, and safety is enhanced. Early units permitted night training only. Daylight systems are now being demonstrated. For those who are pilots, or who train pilots, it's amazing. For the rest of us, the fuel saved is a godsend.

Speaking of godsends, we call your attention to a government agency really immersed in the energy problem. The Energy Research and Development Agency has us developing mirrors that track the sun, focusing rays onto a tower-mounted boiler to produce super-heated steam. The steam passes through a conventional turbine—presto—electricity. In another ERDA study, we focus



solar rays on a field of liquid-metal filled pipes to generate heat. We're working hard on this, but as one engineering wag observes, "In this job, work stops at sunset."

We would not quarrel if you think of McDonnell Douglas as an aerospace company. But, far be it from us to turn away from invention simply because it does not fly. To discuss the technologies mentioned, jot your interest on your letterhead and send it to us. We'll be in touch. Write: McDonnell Douglas, Box 14526, St. Louis, MO 63178.



MCDONNELL DOUGLAS 

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN PROFESSIONAL CAREERS. SEND RESUME. BOX 14526. ST. LOUIS, MO. 63178

sory corporation, which publishes *The Stock Trader's Almanac*. (Ronald D. Rotstein, of The Hirsch Organization, contributed a front-page story to the supplement headlined HUNDREDS OF FIRMS IN RACE TO HARNESS ENERGY FROM SUN.) Sibley went on to say: "Advertising charges were pro-rated — a little higher than usual rates — to pay for the cost of the pages. But the people whose stories were in there didn't pay for the space."

The *Observer*'s solar-energy supplement, for the content of which the newspaper's editorial staff apparently accepted no responsibility, is not really an innovation. Many other newspapers have issued similar industry-financed supplements, as has *Reader's Digest*. The sell is not always so obvious: for years, Sunday-newspaper sections have been stuffed with what the late editor-critic Carl Lindstrom called "revenue-related reading matter."

Gradually, such practices are edging publications into the province of pseudo-journalism, a limbo where readers get something that looks like news but is not news. The stuff appears under a publication's imprimatur but in a format that suggests that the publication does not necessarily vouch for its impartiality or even, perhaps, its accuracy. For years, publicity agents have sought, with some success, to penetrate the news media. Now the media themselves seem to be lowering the barriers.

(This editorial is based, in part, upon research done by Gerhard C. Brostrom and Lisa Hammersly of the Graduate School of Journalism's class of 1977.)

Freedom for student papers

Two recent disputes between high school newspapers and administrators over the publication, and, in the second case, the reprinting, of the same article ("Sexually Active Students Fail To Use Contraception") suggest that the notion that a publication put out by students is entitled to essentially the same First Amendment rights as any other is far from being accepted as a settled principle among school administrators.

The Supreme Court held, in *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District* (1969), that officials of public schools and colleges (officials of private schools have much greater latitude) cannot regulate student expression unless there is evidence, in the Court's words, that "engaging in the forbidden conduct would 'materially and substantially interfere with the requirements of appropriate discipline in the operation of the school.'" The *Tinker* case involved the wearing of black armbands in school as a form of Vietnam War protest. Subsequent lower court rulings have made explicit what was implicit in *Tinker*: that substantial First Amendment protection also extends to expression contained in student publications.

But the finding in *Tinker* did not reach, or was not accepted by, the administrators of high schools in Alexandria, Virginia, and Bristol, Rhode Island. They prohibited the distribution of papers containing the article about birth-control methods. In both cases they cited a variety of grounds for their actions other than disapproval of, or distaste for, the article itself. (The Bristol case was complicated by the editor's having published the article over the objections of the paper's advisers and much of its staff.)

In the Alexandria case, a federal district court judge ruled last February that the school paper was, "in substance, a free speech forum," and not part of the school curriculum, as the school had argued, and therefore had the right to publish the article. When the editor of the Bristol High School paper then sought to reprint it, all 300 copies of the paper were confiscated; he too is seeking court relief.

It is easy to suspect that the grounds cited by the schools in seeking to justify their actions were formulated in large part to address a principle enunciated by the Court in *Tinker*: "In order for the State in the person of school officials to justify prohibition of a particular expression of opinion, it must be able to show that its action was caused by something more than a mere desire to avoid the discomfort and unpleasantness that always accompanies an unpopular viewpoint." Discussion inside the

schools about the sexuality of students has been a dependable source of discomfort and unpleasantness for school administrators. But this cannot justify suppressing or censoring what students seek to print. As the Court also noted, "It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional right to freedom of expression at the schoolhouse gate."

The case of the hidden sponsor

Of the approximately 40,000 books that will be published in this country this year, an unknown (but presumably small) percentage will have been funded in advance by some outside, interested party. When the party behind a book is hidden, the reader cannot judge the extent to which this sponsorship may or may not have influenced the content of the book. *Judgment Reserved: A Landmark Environmental Case*, by Frank D. Schaumburg, is a case in point. Published last year by Reston Publishing Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of Prentice-Hall, the book deals with what Schaumburg calls "the controversy that surrounded the most lengthy, costly, and significant [court] case in history."

The case, which has been widely reported in the press, involves the Reserve Mining Company, whose taconite processing plant at Silver Bay, Minnesota, has for more than twenty years been daily discharging 75,000 tons of taconite tailings, or waste, into Lake Superior. Duluth, among other cities, gets its drinking water from the lake; the tailings contain asbestos-like fibers, thought to be carcinogenic when inhaled or ingested; for more than eight years federal and state authorities have tried in court to compel Reserve to cease dumping its potentially hazardous wastes into the lake. (In late May, a federal court permitted Reserve to go on dumping its waste into the lake for three more years while an inland disposal site is prepared.)

In the preface to his book, Schaumburg — who has a doctorate in environmental engineering and is head of the

The Bridgeport Machines story makes a point about something even more productive than machine tools.

Today, machine tools made by Textron's Bridgeport Division play an important role in factories around the world. But it all started in the 1930's with the skill and determination of two Swedish immigrants who had met in Connecticut and designed a turret milling machine. Their design, the Bridgeport Series I, has become the world's most popular machine tool, helping hundreds of entrepreneurs build businesses and create jobs.

Stories like this make an effective case for private enterprise, as an initial survey of viewer reactions to Textron's current television campaign shows. Com-

ments on the advertising, which includes commercials about several other divisions of Textron, were overwhelmingly favorable. 93% of viewers with proven recall of the campaign said the commercials were informative. 96% found them believable. 84% thought corporations should do this kind of advertising.

Viewers also had some nice things to say about Textron. Which goes to show that making a case for Business can be good business. For more details, and a copy of our Annual Report, write "Response," Dept. T, Textron, Providence, Rhode Island 02903.



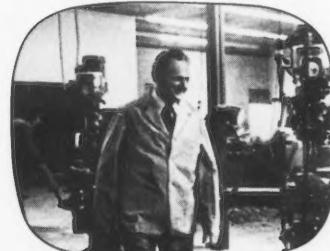
Vilmos Havasi left Hungary in 1956. He came to America, where he didn't even speak the language.



But he got a job, working with one of the most versatile basic machine tools ever invented...the Bridgeport Miller.



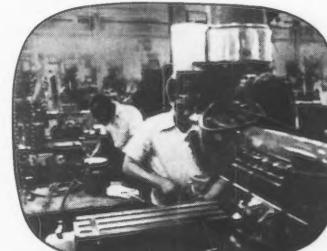
After 7 years he bought one, and started his own business—in his basement.



Today he has 14 Bridgeport Millers...and two thriving companies. The Bridgeport Miller itself grew out of the same kind of determination.



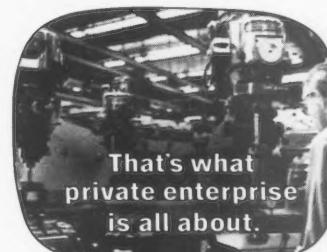
The two men who created it came from Sweden. They met in Connecticut in 1928, and spent ten years perfecting their idea.



Since then, more than 200,000 have been built, and they're still an important product at the Bridgeport Division of Textron.



together with newer machines, some with computer control. They've created hundreds of jobs at this Textron division.



And helped to build hundreds of businesses. Turning ideas into practical reality—that's what private enterprise is all about.



And that's what we do at every division of Textron.

TEXTRON

COMMENT

department of civil engineering at Oregon State University — writes: "This book is a documentary account of the Reserve controversy . . . a factual story of how a basic resource industry could be acclaimed in the 1950s as the savior of the Minnesota iron range country, then charged in the late 1960s as a heinous polluter, and finally condemned in the 1970s for allegedly creating a serious hazard to public health."

Summing up press coverage of the Reserve story, Schaumburg writes: "Since the beginning of the controversy in 1969, the myopic news media have characterized the Reserve Mining Company as a villain and have elected to publicize only negative aspects of the case." In other mentions of press coverage, Schaumburg calls it "myopic" (again), "negative," "biased," "engulfed in emotionalism," and guilty of "half-truth reporting and the exploitation of fear and emotion." (Judging by his citations, Schaumburg appears to have read only a handful of western and midwestern newspapers, and he makes no reference to major relevant articles that have appeared in *Audubon*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *The New Yorker*, and *Science*.)

Schaumburg goes on to write that "this book attempts to tell the Reserve story in balanced perspective" — and, indeed, he does provide balance of a sort. If the myopic news media characterized Reserve as a villain, Schaumburg presents the company and its co-owners — Reserve is a jointly owned subsidiary of Armco Steel Corporation and Republic Steel Corporation — as intrepid heroes of industry, writing, for example: "The corporate history of Reserve is a noteworthy saga of successful parent-company management. It is not one of instant success, but rather a story of years of bold commitment to financial risks." Schaumburg defends industry as "generally willing to abate *provable* pollution" and wonders, regarding the federal district court's decisions, whether they "were based more on emotionalism than on sound scientific fact and legal findings." All in all, Schaumburg's book was one which, the

reader might conclude, Reserve and its parent companies would welcome. Nothing on the jacket, title page, or preface, however, advised the reader of any corporate involvement in the book's publication.

The curious publishing history of Schaumburg's book was revealed in an article in the February 4 issue of *Science*. Entitled "PR Man Helps Select Author of Book on Pollution Case," the article was written by Luther J. Carter, a reporter for the magazine's "News and Comment" section. During a press conference in Minnesota, Schaumburg had "acknowledged that a public relations consultant for the Armco Steel Corporation . . . had a role in the book's publication," Carter wrote. Following up this lead, Carter had learned more about this arrangement. In the spring of 1974, he reported, Frederic K. Easter, executive editor of Reston Publishing Company, had approached Burson-Marsteller, the public-relations firm that represents both Armco and Reserve, to ask if Armco might make a substantial pre-publication commitment to buy copies of a book about the Reserve case. A vice-president of the p.r. firm reportedly told Easter that Armco might well make such a commitment, "but only if the author chosen to do the book had good

credentials and would do an honest, objective book." As it turned out, Easter already had in mind an author he thought the Armco consultant might like: Frank D. Schaumburg. "Although Easter had never met Schaumburg," Carter wrote, "he had been impressed by an article Schaumburg had written for *The National Observer* entitled 'Enviropolitics Is a Pollutant Too,' which held that the 1972 Water Pollution Control Act was an unsound piece of legislative handiwork by scientifically naive lawyers and politicians." The p.r. man read the article, was also impressed by it, and got in touch with Schaumburg. After long negotiations, in which Schaumburg insisted upon complete independence, author and publisher signed a normal publishing contract, and Reston made a separate agreement with Burson-Marsteller to buy 1,000 copies, a tenth of the first printing, for Armco. According to Easter, the manuscript was

not submitted to Armco, Reserve, or the p.r. firm prior to publication and the purchase agreement was not contingent on their approval of the content.

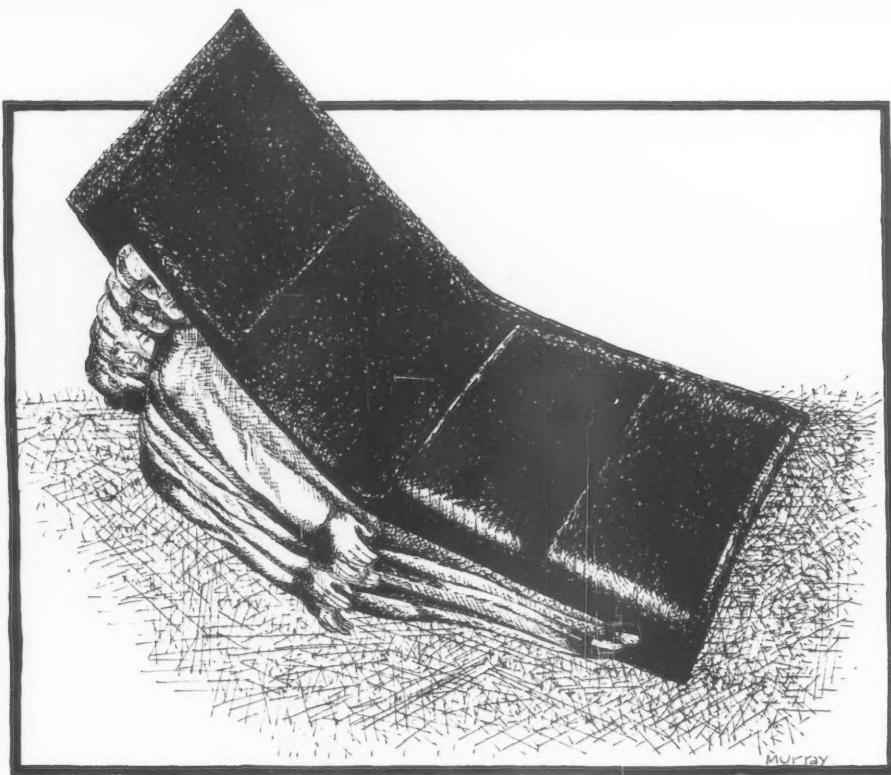
Carter quoted Townsend Hoopes, president of the Association of American Publishers, as saying, "It is not usual practice in publishing, when the book deals with a controversial issue, to have one side of the case subsidize publication."

What are the ethics of this case?

In an interview with this writer, Hoopes declined to pass judgment on the Schaumburg case specifically, but was willing to discuss publishing ethics generally. "Book publishing is a free-wheeling operation, and we do not have anything faintly resembling a code of ethics or even basic ground rules," Hoopes said. "We've always assumed that publishers jealously guard their own reputations for integrity." As for the issue of prepublication sales, Hoopes said that the association had "never addressed this issue." He personally believes that an ethical question does arise when the prospective publisher of a book about a controversial public issue accepts support from an interested party. In his personal view, Hoopes said, "such support is unethical, unless acknowledged."

Easter, the Reston publisher, sees matters differently. To him, the prepublication selling of books is "just good marketing, and common practice in publishing." Easter does not regard the pre-selling of 1,000 copies of Schaumburg's book to Armco's public relations firm as a subsidy "any more than pre-selling a book to a book club would be a subsidy." Easter's analogy leaves out of consideration the involvement of an industry consultant in selecting the author.

It should not be difficult to resolve the ethical issues brought to light by the publishing history of *Judgment Reserved*. One method, already practiced by some publishers, is to acknowledge in the book the name or names of people or organizations who have provided support for its publication — particularly when it is about a controversial public issue. The other is not to accept any outside support in the first



"Has meeting human needs become fiscally irresponsible?"

"To a lot of local politicians, the answer is Yes.

Instead of finding ways to meet human needs, they've been cutting back human services in order to balance their books.

Of course, not all budget cuts are bad. The right kind can mean less waste. And tighter management can mean greater efficiency.

But the wrong kind can mean dirtier water, weaker police protection, shoddier health and mental care, fewer trash collections. All this and higher taxes, too.

As taxpayers, we want government to meet its fiscal responsibility. To tax people fairly and spend money wisely.

But as public employees, we want government to meet its human responsibilities, too. To provide people with dignity and comfort.

We want to make sure when politicians say they're meeting fiscal needs, they're not ignoring human needs at the same time."

"The business of government is people."

Jerry Wurf, President
American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees
1625 L Street, NW,
Washington, D.C. 20036



place. If the book's nature suggests that it may have been funded by someone other than the publisher, then the author should set the record straight, as John Brooks did in his foreword to *Telephone: The First Hundred Years*, a corporate history of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, which was published last year. Brooks wrote: "I have long felt (and have insisted in print) that, because books about corporate affairs are commissioned or subsidized so often as to raise well-founded suspicions about the arrangements behind all such books, the author of a corporate history owes it to both his craft and his readers to set forth plainly at the outset the essential terms and conditions under which he has done his work." This Brooks then does, in considerable detail.

Such candor is welcome. Given the present situation, however, in which only responsible writers and editors feel obliged to play fair with their readers, the reading public has no way of knowing which books they read have been sponsored by an outside, interested party. It is to be hoped that the Reston/Schaumburg/Armco story may alert the publishing industry to an ethical issue that so far has received little attention.

ODOM FANNING

Odom Fanning is book review editor of National Association of Science Writers Newsletter.

Televising Congress: Who'll run the show?

Broadcasting Congress is hardly an original or new idea. More than twenty national legislatures, including those of West Germany, France, Austria, Japan, and Sweden, permit the televising of their sessions, as do at least forty-four American state legislatures. Congress itself heard such a proposal as early as 1945, from Senator Claude Pepper of Florida (who is now a representative, and still favors it).

Later this year, the House of Representatives at last will approach a deci-



Representative Pepper, a long-time advocate of TV in Congress, watches current test

Diana H. Walker

sion on whether to allow broadcasts of its sessions — and an equally important decision on who should control such broadcasts, the House itself or the broadcasters. A closed-circuit test comprising ninety legislative days is scheduled to be completed in mid-September and then the matter will be in the hands of the speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill, and the rest of the leadership.

Both the public and most members of the House seem to favor broadcasts. A Roper poll taken two years ago found that 53 percent of those surveyed wanted television coverage of all sessions, while 15 percent more favored coverage of at least the major events. In the House, Pepper last year surveyed 346 representatives; 238 of them favored broadcast coverage. An American University School of Communication poll, also taken last year, produced about the same results, and showed further that of the 65 percent of House members who favored broadcast coverage, more than half favored allowing a pool of network cameras to offer unrestricted gavel-to-gavel coverage.

The issue of who is to control the coverage — employees of the House or journalists — seems to be the one most disturbing to Speaker O'Neill and other House leaders. (The American University poll showed that House leaders were

evenly split on whether to allow coverage at all.) O'Neill has said little publicly about the issue. But those close to the situation say he has made it clear behind the scenes that if coverage is to be permitted, it must be strictly controlled by the House.

"He fears this as being something that will destroy the institution," says one House staffer who has followed the issue for years. "Basically, I think it's just a deep-down fear of what the media might do to the House if they were given free access."

Broadcasters, quite understandably, feel that they, like print journalists, ought to be given full access to House proceedings, as well as the unlimited right to select what is newsworthy. Donald Meaney, vice-president of NBC News in Washington, says, "If we can't have access to whatever is there and happening, we can't say that we're actually covering it . . . and we can't live with that kind of thing."

Len Allen, managing director of the Radio Television News Directors Association in Washington, summed up the position of broadcasters last year in a report he prepared for a Senate committee: "Senate sessions are news, just as a White House press conference is news, and no one suggests the president ought to set up his own cameras to feed that out to the nation." (A government-run

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COMMENT

system also would create labor problems for the networks, because contracts with cameramen and technicians specify that only in rare instances can networks use film produced by non-union personnel.)

Predictably, the closed-circuit test ordered by O'Neill last March has produced amateurish results. Three remote-controlled, fixed mini-cameras, controlled by House employees, are focused on the speaker's rostrum and on the majority and minority debate tables. The cameras can zoom in and out, but they cannot pan the House floor to pick up the gladhanding and arm-twisting that is so much a part of the lawmaking process. The resulting pictures roughly resemble home movies.

These rigid restrictions reflect the qualms of some House members. They fear that the cameras might somehow lessen the dignity of Congress; that they will catch members who are posing, or dozing; that television will reveal a sea of empty seats; or that flamboyant publicity-seekers will put less articulate

members at a disadvantage before a nationwide television audience.

There is another, less frequently expressed concern: that broadcasts will present too accurate a record of the proceedings. With television, members would no longer be able to correct misstatements, or delete slurs, or clean up syntax, as they now are permitted to do before their remarks are printed in the *Congressional Record*.

But the experience of state legislatures that already permit broadcasts suggests that such apprehension is unfounded. Most states report that television has actually streamlined their lawmaking processes, and that grandstanding is rare. As Allen of the R.T.N.D.A. pointed out in his report to the Senate, Congress could well benefit from unrestricted broadcast coverage. "What the public sees it has a far better chance to understand," he wrote. "What is kept from it can only contribute to ignorance and apathy."

It seems likely that broadcasts of

some sort soon will originate from the floors of both houses of Congress. A resolution introduced in the Senate last April would provide for continuous audio and video coverage of its sessions, with commercial broadcast outlets able to cut in for a live feed or to tape segments for later airing. However, the question of who would control the broadcasts is not answered. That resolution was referred to the Senate Rules Committee, where it is expected to remain until the House acts.

It would be a mistake if broadcasters were tempted to concede control of the cameras to congressional employees in return for the right to broadcast at all, and put off the fight for control until later. Broadcasters have a right to expect, and should insist upon, the same unrestricted access to congressional proceedings that other reporters have.

ANDREW ALEXANDER

Andrew Alexander reports from Washington for The Dayton Journal-Herald.

Did you call State Farm last year for help on a story? 441 other reporters did.

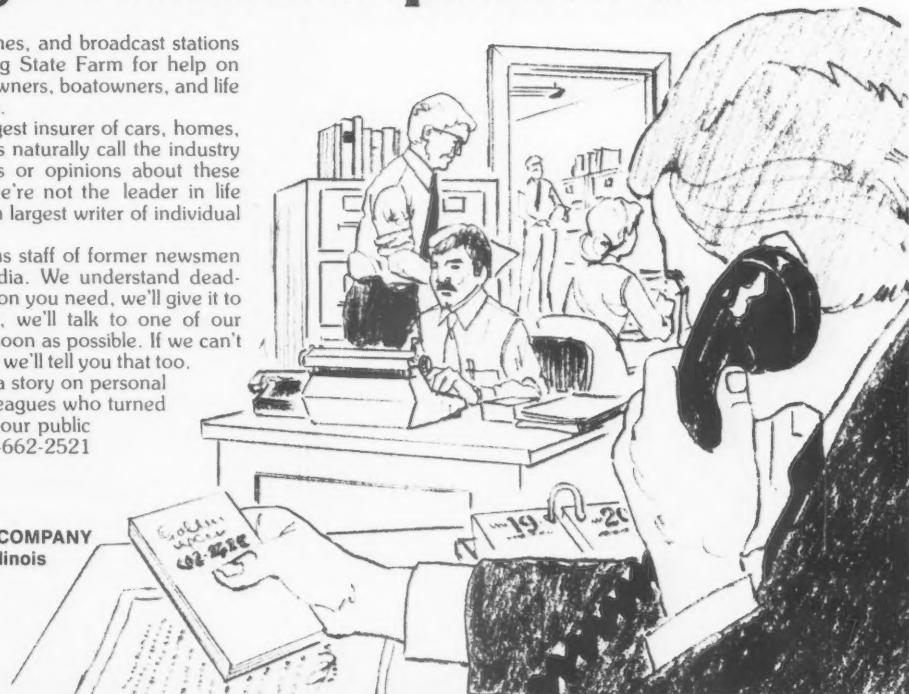
Reporters on papers, magazines, and broadcast stations across the country are calling State Farm for help on stories involving auto, homeowners, boatowners, and life insurance. Why? Two reasons.

First, we're the nation's largest insurer of cars, homes, and pleasure boats. Reporters naturally call the industry leader when they need facts or opinions about these forms of insurance. While we're not the leader in life insurance, we are the seventh largest writer of individual life policies.

Second, our public relations staff of former newsmen welcomes calls from the media. We understand deadlines. If we have the information you need, we'll give it to you right away. If we don't, we'll talk to one of our experts and call you back as soon as possible. If we can't get the information you need, we'll tell you that too.

When you need help with a story on personal insurance, join your 441 colleagues who turned to State Farm last year. Call our public relations department at 309-662-2521 or 662-2063.

STATE FARM MUTUAL
AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE COMPANY
Home Office, Bloomington, Illinois



PUBLISHER'S NOTES

I.R.S.-created chains

Congressman Morris Udall, who has voiced fears that nearly all American newspapers will end up under chain ownership, is far from alone. Many journalists share the fear, but don't realize the extent to which the trend stems from U.S. tax laws and regulations. In this somewhat simplified manual for the uninitiated, we cite three illustrations.

First, the inheritance taxes are such that when the owner of any valuable daily dies, the estate may well have to sell the paper in order to pay the inheritance tax, unless the owner had other major assets that can be sold.

Second, income taxes stimulate newspaper-owning companies to use their profits to buy other newspapers. If they pay out profits as dividends, the money is taxed twice — first through the corporation income tax of roughly 50 percent and second through the normal income tax on stockholders. Individual newspapers don't usually lend themselves to indefinite expansion. So the easiest way to plow back earnings is to buy other newspapers.

Third, the typical newspaper is worth much more to the new buyer than to the old owner because of tax regulations governing plant depreciation. The present owner has probably used up all his depreciation allowance on the newspaper's building and much of the depreciation allowance on equipment. The new purchaser can have the property reappraised on the basis of current market value (and replacement cost) and start the depreciation process over again, with huge tax savings.

A solution isn't easy, however, unless newspapers are to be given preferential treatment like that now given to farms.

The chitchat press

Now even *The New York Times* has moved into the growing market for froth masquerading as journalism. Its new magazine *Us* seems, at least in its first four issues, to fall some notches below

People, which so far has not brought editorial distinction to its Time Inc. owners.

It all started in a way when Generoso Pope's tabloid, the *National Enquirer*, decided to start marketing through grocery chains. Store managements said they wouldn't touch it unless it eliminated its stress on sex and gore. It did so, substituting gee-whiz pieces about the future, new cancer "cures," celebrity divorces, and highly imaginative treatment of outer space. Today the *Enquirer* sells some 5,000,000 copies a week. Its imitators, the *National Star* and *Midnight*, sell some 1,600,000 and 1,200,000 respectively. All view *People* and now *Us* as major competition, though both are in magazine format. The two magazines are more "responsible" and less sensationalized, and *People* (circulation: about 2,000,000) has shown some gradual improvement, in our eyes. But they, too, specialize in frothy articles, and the kind of celebrity glorification that was once the hallmark of the old movie fan magazines.

There is nothing inherently wrong with telling a story in terms of a personality: witness some of the better cover stories in news magazines. But there is something a bit disturbing about two new magazines, both under respectable auspices, so exclusively devoted to lightweight chitchat that they miss opportunities to enlighten as well as to entertain.

All the chitchat publications constitute a rather sad commentary on mass tastes, but we suppose the trend does no great harm. It may even help some of our functional illiterates learn to read.

Forlorn hopes

In our own ideal journalistic world, we would like to:

- Limit every *Time* writer to fifty exclamation points a year.
- Limit each *Newsweek* writer to four dashes a week.
- Outlaw the meaningless attribution "sources say." (We know a taxi driver who could be the source for anything.)

Jackson, Miss. (cont'd)

This column's note (May/June) on the heartening improvement in the once notoriously shabby Jackson (Miss.) *Clarion-Ledger* prompted a vigorous dissent from a former assistant managing editor of the paper. His charges against the paper ranged from "deceptive" personnel practices to favoring the owners' friends in news treatment. He said he had resigned in disgust. His ex-bosses insist he was asked to resign.

Checking with twelve informed newshounds (including ex-employees, present employees, and non-involved professionals in Jackson), we emerge with a mixed picture. All of those checked agree that the paper itself is vastly better (or "very much less bad" in the words of one) than it was three years ago. The youthful Rea Hederman, of the owning family, had indeed moved in, instituted reforms, greatly increased the news budget, hired large numbers of promising young journalists, opted for impartiality on racial matters and various local issues, and instituted vigorous investigative projects.

In the last ten weeks or so, however, there have been some bitter severances, considerable friction, and substantial turnover, particularly in the staffs of the copy desk and of weekly regional sections. Some ex-staffers contend that the elder Hederman had interfered in news operations on behalf of friends like Senator Eastland and officials of the local power company. Rea Hederman strongly disputes this and cites specific stories to support his argument. Some outsiders complain that investigative reporting has occasionally been overdone, "making mountains of molehills." And no one denies that the sister newspaper, the *Jackson Daily News*, has shown little of the improvement noted in the *Clarion-Ledger*.

In brief, it appears that marked progress has been made in the product itself, that more is to be hoped for, and that internal problems and dissension have been substantial.

E.W.B.

Visit our ad.

On the next two pages is an ad that tells what the forest industry's Operation Double Tree is all about.

We're running it in national consumer magazines like *Atlantic Monthly* and *Field & Stream*.

We'd like you to read it. But more than that, we'd like you to see it. First-hand.

So when you're finished reading, turn to the last page and start writing.

OPERATION

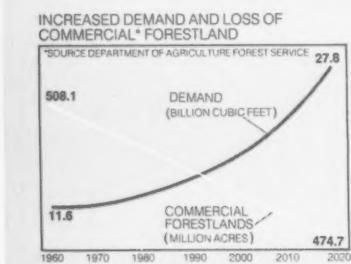
A report on how the forest industry is working to get twice as much wood from America's commercial forests. Year after year. Forever.

Wood is one of the world's most valuable resources.

It's America's busiest building material. It's also the basic ingredient in pulp, packaging and a thousand other products—right down to the paper this ad is printed on.

More Wood From Less Land.

But while world demand for wood is *increasing*, the amount of land available for commercial forests* is *shrinking*. Some of it has been set aside for parks and wilderness areas. Much of it has been turned into farms, freeways and new developments.



The chart above shows that U.S. consumption of all wood and paper products will double in less than 50 years. Thus the reason behind Operation Double Tree—the forest industry's name for intensive forest management that can double the amount of wood grown on a given piece of land. And do it in such a way that the forest remains a valuable part of the ecosystem.

**Commercial forest is described as that portion of the total forest which is capable of, and available for, growing trees for harvest. Parks, wilderness and primitive areas are not included.*

The two Douglas firs to the right grew in the forests of the Cascade Mountains of Washington State. Both were harvested when they were 25 years old. The difference is, the larger one grew in an Operation Double Tree area, while the smaller one did not.

Double Tree is ambitious and is already working.

All across the U.S., forest product companies are working to double forest yield. In Oregon and Washington, forest product companies are predicting

Double Tree isn't limited to large industrial tree farms. Individual woodlot owners from Maine to Georgia are putting idle lands to work, creating green belts that offer the twin payoffs of an increased harvest *and* eternal forests.

That may sound like a paradox, like eating a cake and having it, too. But unlike oil or coal, wood is one natural resource that is *renewable*. And modern forestry has found ways to make Mother Nature more productive.



West



South



Great Lakes



New England

triple growth with genetically superior trees planted in prime forestlands.

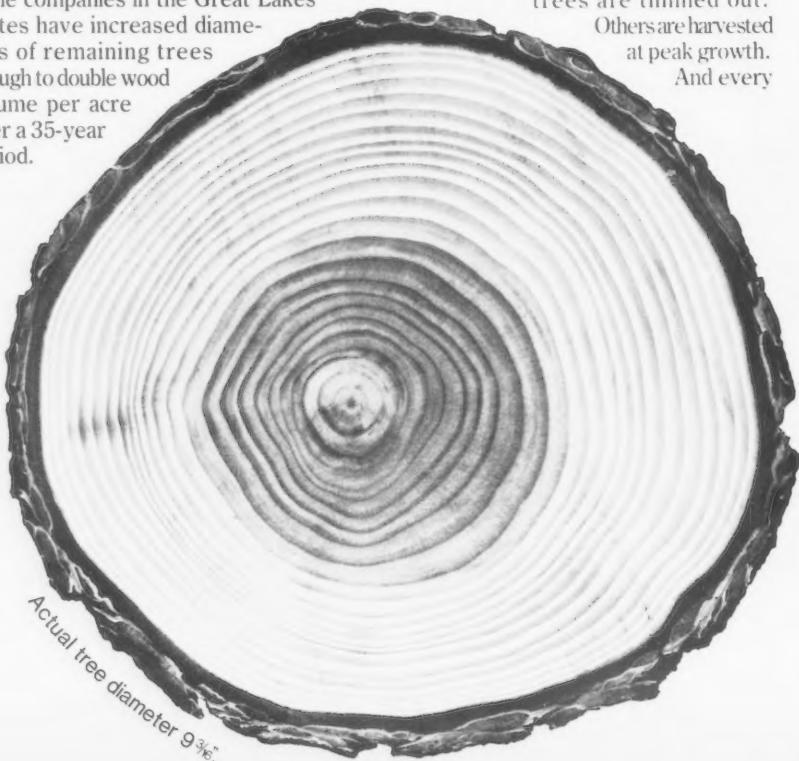
Through thinning efforts alone, some companies in the Great Lakes States have increased diameters of remaining trees enough to double wood volume per acre over a 35-year period.

Today's intensive forest management is rooted in nature's own ecological cycle. It begins with the harvest. Slower growing

trees are thinned out.

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DOUBLE TREE

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The New Forest.

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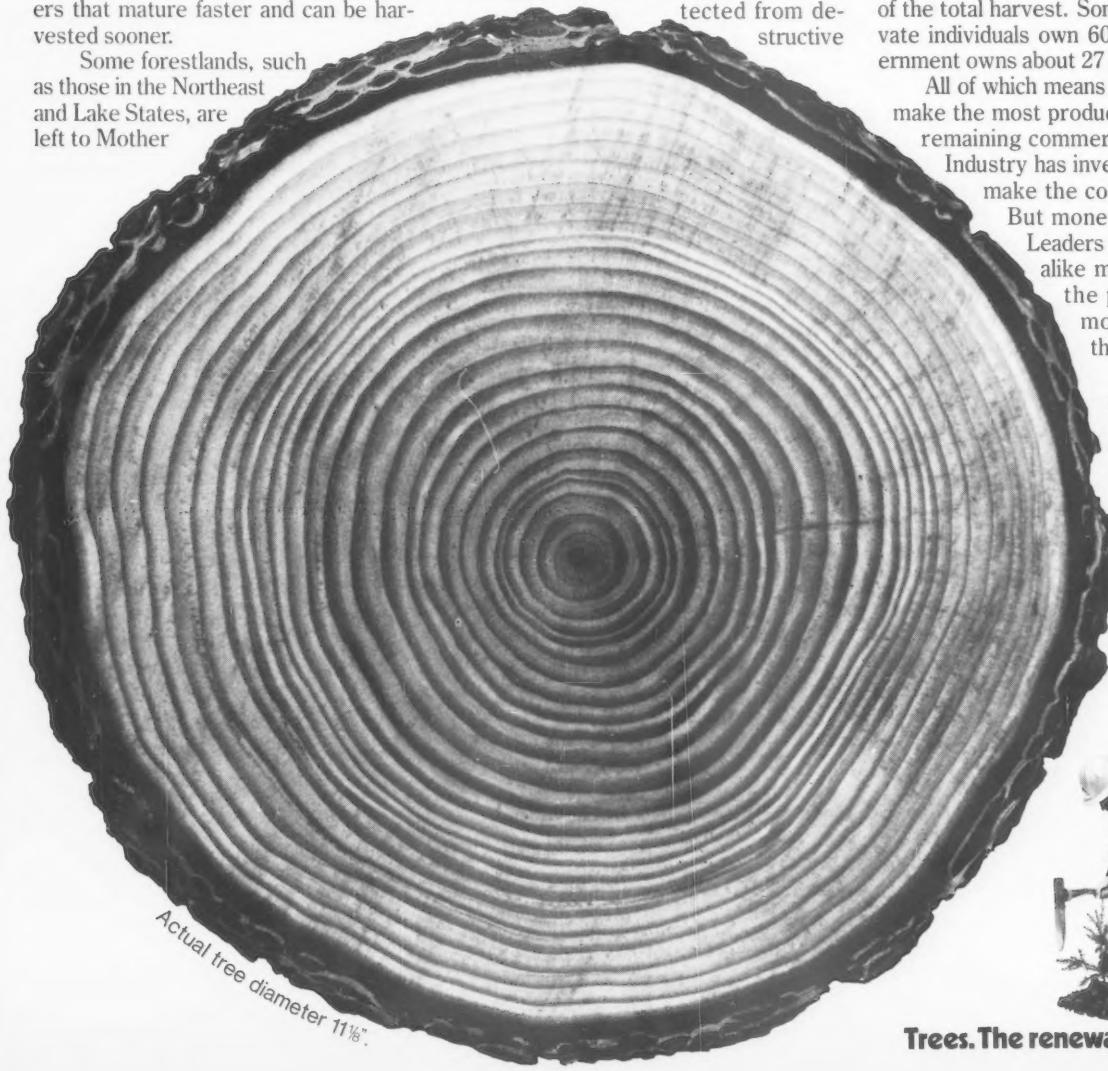
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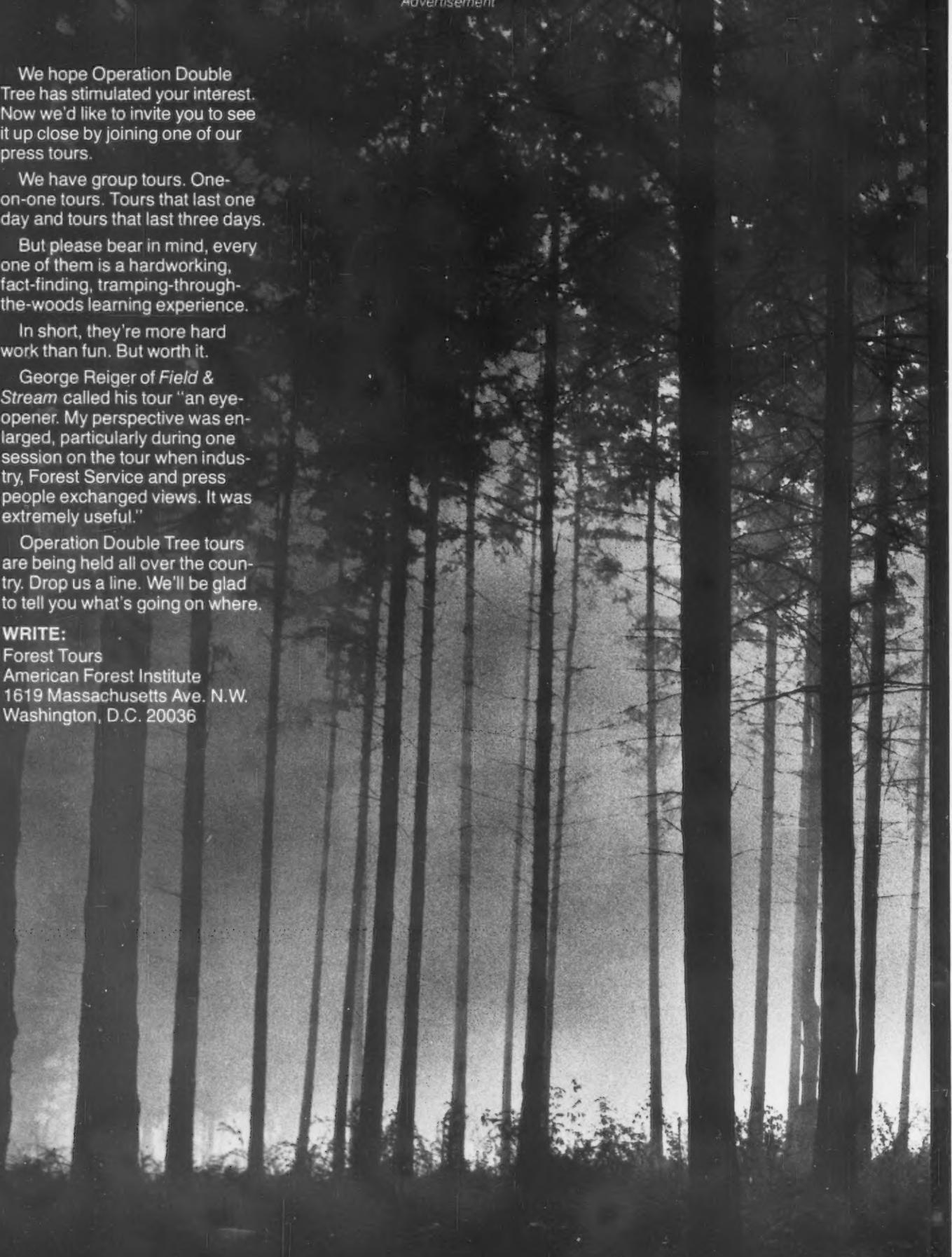
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Phosvel: a tale of missed cues

It took the press two years
to find this important occupational-health story

by WADE ROBERTS

One of the most widely covered occupational-health stories of recent months was one that dealt with "the Phosvel zombies" — workers who had been exposed to a toxic pesticide called Phosvel and who, as a result of such exposure, were suffering from serious nervous disorders. Some were expected to die slowly; the rest would be permanently disabled.

But there was more to the story, and these other elements helped to keep it on the front pages of three major newspapers throughout December 1976 and into January of this year, with *60 Minutes* following up in March. Reporters learned, for example, that Phosvel, though not registered for use in the United States, was coming into the country on vegetables imported from Mexico; that the federal Environmental Protection Agency, accepting the manufacturer's claims that Phosvel was safe and disregarding much scientific evidence to the contrary, had granted a "tolerance level" for Phosvel — the first step needed to register the pesticide for sale and use in the United States, and one which the E.P.A. later rescinded. Moreover, a couple of important political names surfaced. Readers learned that the Velsicol Chemical Corporation, which manufactured Phosvel, was a subsidiary of Northwest Industries, Inc., a conglomerate whose president is Ben Heineman, a confidant of a number of past Democratic presidential candidates and presidents. And there was Joseph Califano, Carter's choice for secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Califano's Washington law firm, Williams, Connolly, and Califano, had represented Velsicol in 1974, in an appeal of an E.P.A. ban on the continued sale of two other pesticides. Testifying before Congress in January 1977, Califano said that his law firm was still advising Velsicol, this time in connection with an investigation being carried out by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, an H.E.W. agency. (If confirmed as head of H.E.W., Califano went on to say, he

would not participate in any departmental actions involving Velsicol.) And, finally, there was Senator Edward Kennedy, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure. Kennedy's subcommittee staff carried out an intensive ten-month investigation of the E.P.A.'s procedures and issued a devastating report in December 1976, in which the agency's handling of Phosvel was singled out as a telling "case history illustrating the severe inadequacies in E.P.A.'s tolerance-setting program."

All in all, it was a story that, at any stage of its development, deserved coverage — at least in Houston, Texas, close by Velsicol's Bayport plant; in Washington, the headquarters of the federal agencies involved; and in Chicago, the headquarters of Velsicol and of Northwestern Industries, Inc. (For Chicago coverage, see sidebar, page 26.)

Yet the press in these and other cities overlooked the story for at least two years. It seems likely, moreover, that had a Washington newspaper not given the story front-page coverage, the Houston papers might not have covered it all, or only much later and less prominently.

The Phosvel story was not right out there in the open, but it was not exactly hidden either.

Between 1974 and the end of 1976, when the story finally found its way onto the front page of *The Washington Post*, three different attempts had been made to call attention to it. The first was an article that appeared in the November 1974 issue of *Environment*, the publication of the Scientists Institute for Public Information. Written by Kevin P. Shea, an *Environment* editor, and entitled "Nerve Damage," the article told readers that in 1971 "a mysterious epidemic of paralysis" had killed 1,200 to 1,300 water buffaloes in Egypt; that while the cause of the epidemic was not precisely known, "a variety of circumstantial evidence strongly points to a relatively new

Wade Roberts is contributing editor of The Texas Observer.

insecticide known in Egypt as leptophos and in the United States as Phosvel"; that Phosvel was manufactured by the Velsicol Chemical Corporation; and that it "is currently being considered for registration in the U.S. for use on a variety of crops." Shea made it clear that Phosvel might be a potent hazard to humans as well as to animals, and he concluded: "The registration of Phosvel is of particular significance. As stated earlier, the unusual, delayed neurotoxic effects of the chemical make its handling particularly hazardous. . . . The persistence of the chemical and its relatively low immediate toxicity, added to the fact that a victim might be unable to sense that he or she has contracted a paralyzing dose, all add up to a potentially hazardous situation. . . ."

Shea hoped that his article would not merely inform *Environment's* 23,000 subscribers but raise the alarm among responsible officials and environmental reporters, as well. He tried to attract the attention of the media. "We mail our contents page to about two hundred different news organizations," Shea said recently, "and will furnish reporters with an advanced copy if they want one." The apparent lack of success of this effort to attract press attention was a reminder of the limitations of all small-circulation magazines and, more particularly, perhaps, of one that attempts to bridge the gap between the scientific community and the general public. The subtitle that appeared on *Environment's* November 1974 contents page was cautious: "A new insecticide similar in effect to an old chemical, TOCP, may cause irreversible nerve injury. The chemical may already have produced side effects in Egypt." (TOCP was used in a Prohibition-era ginger drink, and in the early 1930s thousands of people in the Midwest and the Southwest were afflicted with what was called "ginger jake" or "ginger paralysis.") Such understatement was unlikely to catch reporters' eyes. Moreover, Shea had not yet discovered where Phosvel was manufactured and so was unable to make the connection that might have alerted Texas reporters.

More than a year after the appearance of Shea's article, *The Nation* (circulation: 30,000) published "Pesticides in the Food Chain," by Louise Cooper, a free-lance writer. It appeared in the March 6, 1976, issue. Velsicol was named and some of its products were described in the lead paragraph. "Velsicol Corporation of Chicago," wrote Cooper, "is fighting for the right to go on producing chlordane and heptachlor (of which it is the sole producer). . . . Jerome Weisner, chief science advisor to President Kennedy, has called these organochlorines more hazardous to human life than nuclear fallout." Cooper went on to report other facts that would appear in news stories nine months later — that "Velsicol is part of a billion-dollar conglomerate that can afford one of the top Washington law firms"; that the conglomerate, "listed among *Fortune's* top 200 companies, was put together by Ben Heineman, a Chicago lawyer who once campaigned for Adlai Stevenson" — as well as one relevant fact that would be generally overlooked. Velsicol was one of two chemical companies in the conglomerate, Cooper wrote, adding: "Although they provide only 15 percent of

total corporate gross (\$1.1 billion), Heineman told security analysts that the chemical companies are his stars, yielding a higher profit rate (12.7 percent of sales) than either his giant consumer or his industrial group." Velsicol's efforts to maintain high profits were crucial to the emergence of the Phosvel story. The company's earnings had begun to fall off when, in 1974, the E.P.A. began procedures to ban the sale and use of chlordane and heptachlor, the company's principal products. Looking for a way to boost profits, the company decided to try to have Phosvel, until then sold only abroad, approved for sale in the U.S.

In May 1974, the E.P.A., ignoring a great deal of evidence that Phosvel was not safe, granted tolerances for Phosvel in and on tomatoes and lettuce. Two months later, the agency began to reevaluate data pertaining to the pesticide; it was in the course of this review that researchers found that company tests had shown Phosvel to be neurotoxic and that earlier E.P.A. tests had come to the same conclusion. In May 1975, the E.P.A. revoked the



Courtesy KTRK-TV News
Houston Post



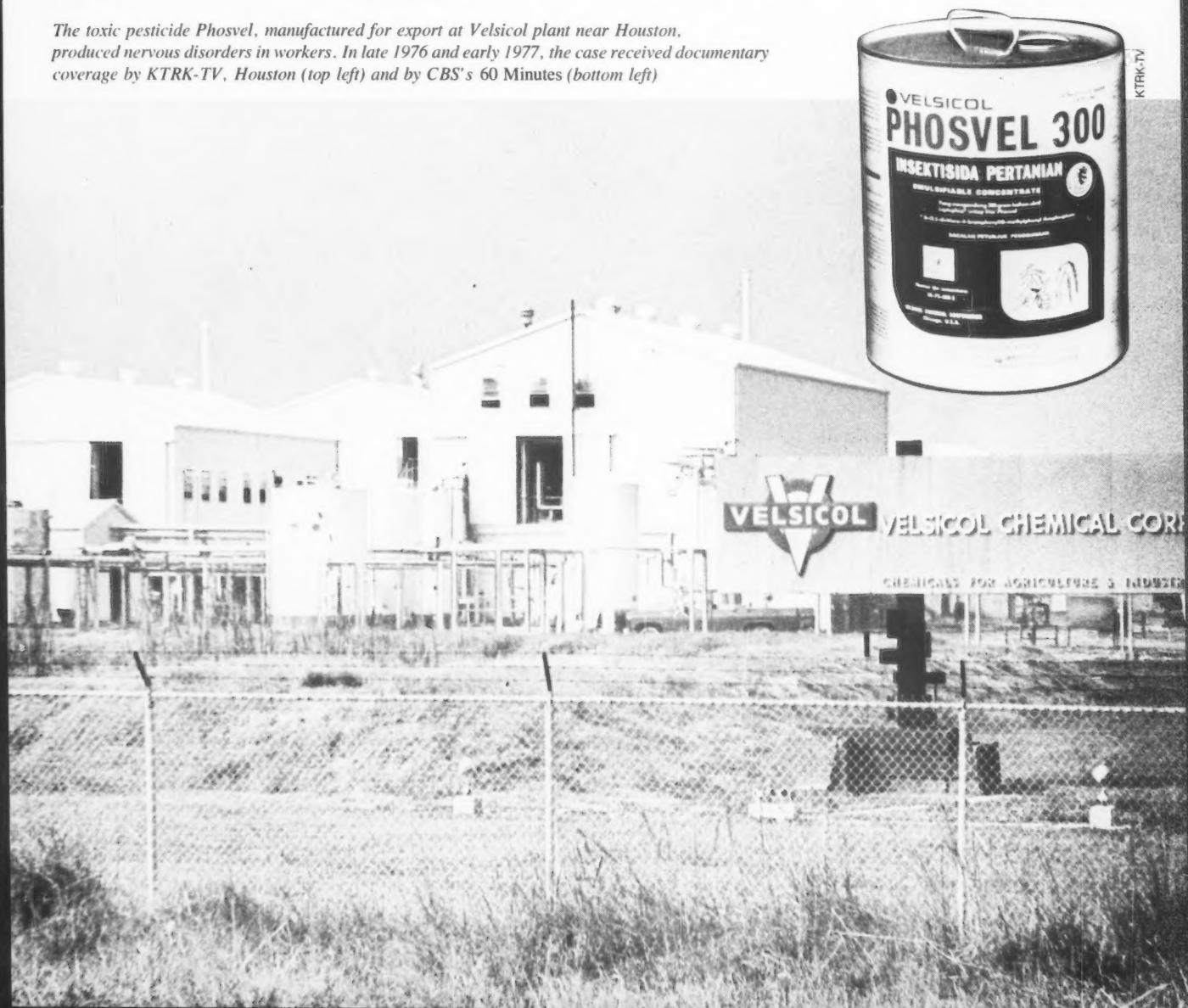
Courtesy 60-Minutes, CBS News

Phosvel tolerance. In the fall of that year, Velsicol provided the agency with information regarding "a variety of illnesses" among workers at the Bayport plant. The E.P.A. sat on that information until in January 1976, an official cut through red tape and, on his own initiative, notified the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health. A NIOSH team arrived in Bayport in February, only to find that Velsicol had just terminated the production of the pesticide. Examining only workers still employed at the plant, the team reported only two suspected cases of poisoning. Velsicol officials did not inform the team that several former employees were suffering from the effects of exposure to Phosvel; some had left or been fired, some had been laid off as a result of their disabilities. In September, NIOSH obtained internal Velsicol memoranda and other correspondence which made it clear that the problem was much greater than the research team had realized. A new and more intensive investigation, including examinations of former Velsicol employees, was begun in the fall of 1976.

Some months before NIOSH started looking into condi-

tions at Bayport and possibly even before the publication of *The Nation* article on pesticides, one man who receives frequent calls from reporters was telling one and all that Phosvel was a story they ought to be looking into. Sheldon W. Samuels, director of health, safety, and environment of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s industrial union department, had first heard about Phosvel in the summer of 1975 from an E.P.A. pathologist, Dr. Howard Richardson. Richardson told Samuels that he was very concerned about Phosvel as an environmental and occupational hazard, but that the E.P.A. appeared reluctant to press its investigation of the pesticide. Richardson added that he was seriously considering carrying out an investigation of his own, even if he had to do it on his own time and at his own cost. Aware that Samuels often spoke with members of the press, Richardson asked him to promise to keep their conversation confidential. In October 1975, Richardson was killed in an airplane crash; Samuels felt he was no longer bound by his promise of secrecy. After looking into various aspects of the Phosvel story himself, Samuels began telling reporters, who called him about a

The toxic pesticide Phosvel, manufactured for export at Velsicol plant near Houston, produced nervous disorders in workers. In late 1976 and early 1977, the case received documentary coverage by KTRK-TV, Houston (top left) and by CBS's 60 Minutes (bottom left)



variety of stories, about Phosvel. "Over the course of many months, long before I even knew that NIOSH was looking into the situation, I talked with a galaxy of reporters about the Phosvel story, all of whom ignored the lead. I am talking about leading reporters from *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Newsday*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, *The Houston Post*, CBS, NBC, and ABC." Samuels did not speak at first with reporters from *The Washington Post* because its pressmen were on strike at the time and the A.F.L.-C.I.O. was boycotting *Post* reporters. But in November 1976, shortly after the union redefined the boycott, Peter Milius of the *Post* called Samuels. A reporter from a major newspaper had finally discovered the two-year-old Phosvel story.

Milius says that he got onto the story quite by accident. While preparing an article about the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), he had interviewed several people in the field of occupational health. "A couple of days after I talked to one of them," Milius says, "I received a call and my source told me about this pesticide plant near Houston." Milius says that, although he stumbled onto the story "completely by luck," once he had made initial queries to NIOSH officials in Washington,

"things started tumbling in on us. It turned out that, suddenly, there were a lot of people with a lot to say about Phosvel."

Ine thing someone brought to Milius's attention was the article that *Environment* had published back in 1974. Milius called Kevin Shea. "I got this call from Milius," Shea recalls, "and I was taken completely by surprise. I had heard that NIOSH was preparing a report on the health of workers at the Bayport plant and I was, in fact, putting together an article on it. Then, suddenly, I hear from a *Washington Post* reporter who has enough information to warrant a story. Milius was going to do the story regardless of whether or not I told him what I had turned up, so I went ahead and told him. Besides, I had begun to realize the impact of the story — and that the *Post* could bring into play a lot of resources we just don't have."

Milius's first story, headlined **KEPONE-LIKE CASE AT TEXAS PESTICIDE PLANT PROBED**, was spread across the top six columns of the front page of the *Post* on December 1, 1976. That story jolted the Houston papers. Phosvel promptly became a major story in both the *Houston Chronicle* (which subscribes to the Los Angeles Times-

Chicago's Phosvel coverage

Chicago is the home base for both the Velsicol Chemical Corporation and the conglomerate of which it is a part, Northwest Industries, Inc. Thus, the Phosvel story had strong local ties. Chicago papers might be expected to go after stories with such ties, but they were as sluggish as the rest of the press. A search of the three Chicago dailies' clipping files shows:

- All but one story during December and January was a wire account from the *Washington Post* or the *Knight news wires*.
- The *Sun-Times* printed the first story, a *Washington Post* piece, on December 5. Velsicol was mentioned but was not identified as a Chicago company. The story appeared on page 40 of the paper's second edition. By the third edition, there was a fresh *Post* story about an afflicted Bayport worker; it appeared on page 5. The story noted that Velsicol was owned by Northwest Industries of Chicago, but Velsicol itself was not identified as a Chicago corporation.
- *The Daily News*, afternoon companion of the *Sun-Times*, followed on December 6 with a local angle. An eight-paragraph story on page 3 noted that small amounts of Phosvel had been processed at a Velsicol plant in suburban Chicago Heights five or six years ago. A company vice-president was quoted as saying that the Chicago work was experimental. The story gave no indication of harmful effects of the local tests.
- On December 15, the *Sun-Times* carried another *Post* story reporting that the E.P.A. had claimed that four Velsicol products were harmful. The article mentioned that Velsicol is located in Chicago and noted that Ben Heine-

man, president of Northwest Industries, "is one of the finalists for treasury secretary in the Carter administration." There was no comment from Velsicol or Northwest Industries regarding the E.P.A. claim, and no indication that reporters from the *Post* or *Sun-Times* had attempted to elicit comment.

- *Tribune* readers first learned of the Phosvel story on December 19, in a forty-inch *Knight news wire* story. *Tribune* readers were not told that Velsicol was a Chicago company, and there was no indication that Velsicol was called for comment. On January 22, the *Trib* published a one-paragraph item about an OSHA claim that Velsicol had violated a number of safety measures at Bayport; again, no Chicago connection was made.
- The next major story was on March 25, when both the *Tribune* and the *Sun-Times* devoted ten to twelve inches of copy to a local federal grand-jury investigation of charges that Velsicol covered up information that Phosvel was injuring employees. The stories indicated that 35,000 documents had been subpoenaed and that corporate executives were targets of the investigation, which could result in indictments. There were no immediate follow-up stories.
- On March 30 the *Sun-Times* editorialized on the Phosvel issue, spelling out Velsicol's actions at Bayport, its past suits against the E.P.A. over pesticide bans, and the company's past pesticide problems. The paper described Velsicol's record as "wretched," adding that its behavior "underscores the E.P.A.'s giant task" of monitoring and testing new chemicals.

GARY CUMMINGS

Washington Post News Service) and *The Houston Post*. WORKERS AT BAYPORT PLANT REPORTEDLY HIT BY NERVE DAMAGE, the afternoon *Chronicle* told its readers at the top of page one on December 1. The article, which named *The Washington Post* as its source, carried the highlights of Milius's story, mentioning the Egyptian experience with Phosvel and paraphrasing the NIOSH report on the health of people who had been exposed to Phosvel at the Velsicol plant. ("Body counts" were repeatedly revised: Early editions of the *Chronicle* reported that "at least two" Velsicol workers suffered from partial paralysis, while an unspecified number of their co-workers were exhibiting symptoms of nerve disorders. In later editions, the count was upped to "seven and nine"; *The Houston Post* would subsequently and correctly set the number at ten.)

The *Post*, the city's morning paper, countered the next day with the first completely locally originated story, a top-of-page-one article by Harold Scarlett, the paper's environment writer. (Scarlett, the reporter who corrected the "body count," was also the first to link Phosvel with the death of a former Velsicol employee.) The December 2 *Post* also carried an inside sidebar by its medical writer, Mary Jane Schier, who reported that several physicians had treated Velsicol employees for a variety of neurological ailments as far back as 1974. (Perhaps the best reporting by a medical writer was an article that appeared in the *Chronicle* on December 12. Rebecca Galvan's story, headlined NERVE DAMAGE REPORTS RAISE MEDICAL QUESTIONS ON INDUSTRIAL POISONING, began by raising the question of why some doctors had "difficulty in diagnosing the condition of workers who complained of such symptoms as vomiting, inability to swallow, dizziness, blurred vision, and lack of muscle coordination." One of the experts Galvan interviewed was Dr. Marcus Key, a former director of NIOSH now teaching at the University of Texas School of Public Health. Key pointed out that few doctors are familiar with toxic chemicals and their effects, adding that some doctors do not gather information about a patient's occupational hazards when taking a medical history. Key also pointed out that it was still uncertain that the nervous disorders afflicting several former Velsicol employees were caused solely by exposure to Phosvel; NIOSH, he said, was investigating a second chemical — n-hexane, a solvent workers used when mopping the floors of the plant — as a possible additional cause of nerve damage.)

After the initial front-page stories, the two Houston papers began competing for new angles. The *Chronicle* had the initial edge over the *Post*, having broken the story locally and having access to the *Washington Post* news service. Still, it was *The Washington Post* that broke most of the significant new leads, with Milius joined on occasion by agricultural writer Dan Morgan. The *Post* reported that workers in several other U.S. chemical plants might have been exposed to Phosvel when they transferred the pesticide into containers for shipment overseas. The *Post* also uncovered what came to be known as the "Mexican tomato connection": Milius and Morgan disclosed that federal Food and Drug Administration investigators had found traces of Phosvel in nearly half the truckloads of tomatoes imported

into the U.S. from Mexico in 1975. (*The Houston Post*'s Scarlett later reported that trace amounts of the pesticide were also discovered on imported Mexican beans, peppers, cucumbers, peas, cantaloupes, eggplant, and squash. "Incredible as it sounds," Scarlett wrote in a January 16 article, "Phosvel almost became a staple — a kind of 'secret sauce' — in the diets of millions of Americans.") Milius and Morgan also took a wide-angle look at the pesticide industry in the United States, pointing out that as the country became "the pesticide arsenal for the world," such tragedies of the workplace as had occurred in the Bayport plant could be expected to increase.

While neither Houston paper could match *The Washington Post*'s coverage of the national and international aspects of the story, both turned in creditable performances on local angles. Houston readers nonetheless needed to scan both the *Chronicle* and the *Post* to get a complete picture for, as is often the case, each tended to bury or ignore developments reported by the other.

Of the three television networks, only CBS dealt with the Phosvel story in its evening news program. And on March 27 the CBS weekly program *60 Minutes* ran a Phosvel story on the condition of nerve-damaged workers and on the status of continuing federal investigations; it made clear the reluctance of anyone to accept responsibility for conditions at the Bayport plant. Houston's local broadcast stations, for their part, generally relied on newspaper and wire copy, while the wire services relied heavily on leads turned up by the *Chronicle* and the *Post*. One local television station, however, ABC-affiliate KTRK-TV, produced an excellent report. Produced and narrated by Jan Carson and aired on December 29, the twenty-minute documentary managed to present many aspects of the Phosvel story more lucidly than had the city's two newspapers.

Why had it taken Houston reporters so long to come across a story that existed for years in their own industrial backyard? "It beats hell out of me," says Scarlett of *The Houston Post*. "We just weren't aware of what was happening." In a similar vein, Bob Tutt, city editor of the *Chronicle*, said: "The truth of the matter is that it was just ignorance on the part of the news organizations. It was a problem of just not knowing."

But Kevin Shea of *Environment* has a different opinion of why the story wasn't picked up earlier. "We're published in St. Louis," Shea said, "and the country's big newspapers just won't pay attention to this particular kind of story unless it's broken on the east or west coasts. It was a hell of a good story we had there in 1974 — and it just sat there and died. It vanished because of those silly prejudices."

There may be a more fundamental reason for the tardiness of the press in getting around to reporting the Phosvel story and for the comparative rarity of any comprehensive coverage of occupational health stories. As one Washington-based reporter put it, "You've got to remember that occupational health is a class issue, and while the classes that own the newspapers are sometimes willing to take a strong stand on environmental health, occupational health just doesn't interest them."

Alerting the consumer — and overlooking the worker

Reporters covering stories about substances that may threaten the health of consumers rarely mention that these substances usually pose an even greater threat to workers. Whole series of articles about such substances may appear without a single reference to workers or the workplace.

Recently, two stories involving cancer-causing chemicals used in consumer products were widely reported.

One dealt with tris-BP, a flame retardant used in children's sleepwear. The seminal article was, apparently, "Flame-Retardant Additives as Possible Cancer Hazards," by Bruce N. Ames, a biochemist at the University of California at Berkeley, and Arlene Blum, an Ames associate, which appeared in the January 7, 1977, issue of *Science*. Ames and Blum wrote: "The possible consequences of the widespread use of tris-BP are serious. It does come off fabric, is at least topically absorbed, is known to be a strong mutagen, and may contain a potent carcinogen as an impurity. Infants' and young children's habit of sucking their clothing could lead to its ingestion. Therefore, tris-BP poses a potential hazard as a human carcinogen and mutagen."

In passing, the authors pointed out that tris-BP and its impurities posed a threat not only to children, but also to those who make and work with tris-treated fabrics.

On January 4, *The Wall Street Journal* ran an article about the flame retardant. A staff reporter, Herbert E. Bishop, summarized the Ames-Blum article, as well as a report (which appeared in the same issue of *Science*) concerning "an experiment showing that tris-BP is capable of causing mutations in bacteria, a test that many scientists regard as showing it may cause cancer." Bishop reported that an "estimated 10 million pounds of tris-BP are used annually," and that a major manufacturer of the chemical was Velsicol Chemical Company, which had recently absorbed Michigan Chemical Company, the manufacturer of tris-BP cited in the *Science* articles. Bishop's eighteen-paragraph article, which concentrated on the potential threat the chemical posed to millions of children, made no mention of the possibly greater threat it posed to thousands of workers.

On April 8, the *Journal* ran an unsigned follow-up story headlined TRIS-TREATED CLOTHES FOR CHILDREN ORDERED CLEARED FROM STORES. The article began: "The government ordered that children's garments treated with a chemical linked with cancer [tris-BP] be removed from store shelves." It went on to report on differences in opinion within the Consumer Product Safety Commission, which had ordered the ban, and on the effect the ban would have on the children's sleepwear industry. "Financial Disaster" read the subhead for this section. The ten-paragraph story made no mention of whether the flame retardant might also be an occupational-health disaster.

The New York Times also covered the story. An unsigned February 9 article headlined BAN ASKED ON CHILDREN'S WEAR WITH FLAME RETARDANT reported that the Environ-

mental Defense Fund had petitioned the Consumer Product Safety Commission to forbid the sale of all clothing containing tris. E.D.F. officials said that "data obtained from the National Cancer Institute indicated that Tris . . . was 100 times more powerful as a cancer-causing agent than the carcinogens in cigarette smoke." The ten-paragraph article contained no mention of tris as an occupation hazard.

The Times returned to the story on April 8 with a thirty-seven-paragraph story, written by Nadine Brozan, headlined U.S. BANS A FLAME RETARDANT USED IN CHILDREN'S SLEEPWEAR. Again, the emphasis on the danger the chemical posed to children and the effect the ban might have on industry excluded any reporting on the potentially harmful effects of working with tris.

In late April and early May the *Times* published at least five other tris-related stories, none of which touched on this aspect of the story.

It is possible that, four months after the story began to emerge in the press, some newspapers will at last get around to reporting on the occupational-health aspects of tris-BP and similar flame retardants. On May 11, the House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, chaired by Representative John E. Moss, began hearings on the environmental causes of cancer; tris and other flame retardants would receive close attention, according to a subcommittee staff member.

The second story involving cancer-causing chemicals dealt with a chemical used in some plastic food wraps. Articles on this hazard appeared on February 23 in both *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*. Both articles made clear the nature of the hazard to consumers —namely, that vinylidene chloride, the suspected carcinogen, might be transferred from the wrap to the enclosed food. Scientists acquainted with the chemical, say, however, that the main hazard is probably to workers, not consumers, since the release of the chemical is most likely to occur in the process of heating the liquid to form the wrap.

The eleven-paragraph article by *Times* medical reporter Jane E. Brody, headlined CANCER EXPERTS WARN OF DANGERS IN SOME PLASTIC WRAP CHEMICALS, merely hinted at the fact that vinylidene chloride might constitute a serious occupational hazard. "Three years ago," Brody wrote, "Dr. Maltoni's studies of vinyl chloride, another plastics chemical [closely related to vinylidene chloride], showed it to cause cancer in rats and mice. Shortly afterward the chemical was pinpointed as the cause of a rare, fatal liver cancer in exposed workers."

The fifteen-paragraph *Journal* article, by staff reporter Gail Bronson, discussed vinylidene chloride as an occupational hazard in considerable detail and included a three-paragraph description of a nationwide mortality study of workers exposed to the chemical, begun last year, which is being conducted by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health.

J. S.

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Is NBC exploiting creatures from outer space?

The network's quasi-documentaries about 'ancient astronauts' fudge fact and fantasy

by TIMOTHY HACKLER

Did God destroy Sodom and Gomorrah with an atomic bomb? Was Moses's ark of the covenant really a giant loudspeaker through which God addressed the multitudes? Did strange creatures from outer space help Joshua fight the battle of Jericho?

If you think these questions are frivolous, you may be surprised to learn that NBC has presented three hour-long programs that purport to ask just such questions in all seriousness. The programs have in common the theme that creatures from outer space may have visited the earth eons ago and created man and his civilizations in their image. They also have in common a reliance on bad logic and inaccurate information. When NBC broadcast the first of these programs, in January 1973, it invented a new television genre — the pseudo-science documentary — which it was exploiting as recently as March 1977.

The first program, "In Search of Ancient Astronauts," was based on a book by Erich von Däniken called *Chariots of the Gods?* Von Däniken's books have been roundly panned for sloppiness and inaccuracy. "A massive insult to human intelligence," said the *San Francisco Examiner*. "A fine, naked, unscrupulous, twelve-year-old mind," said an *Esquire* reviewer of the author.

Timothy Hackler is a free-lance writer who lives in New York.

The NBC presentation of "In Search of Ancient Astronauts" proved, however, that there is a vast market for hooey: not only did approximately 28 million people watch the show, but in the forty-eight hours following the broadcast Bantam Books sold more than 250,000 copies of *Chariots of the Gods?* On January 31, 1974, NBC ran a second special of the same genre entitled "In Search of Ancient Mysteries." Since then, the "ancient astronaut" fad has spread through the media. Dozens of paperback imitations of von Däniken, bearing such titles as *Was God an Ancient Astronaut?*, have been rushed into print; two movies of the same ilk have been released; a third is scheduled to be released later this year. The two NBC specials, which were produced by Alan Landsburg Productions of Los Angeles, have been syndicated and are still being shown on local stations, while a third Landsburg program, "The Outer Space Connection," premiered on NBC on March 3 of this year. Von Däniken, for his part, has written three more books and, according to an article that appeared in *The New York Times* last August, 34 million copies of his books have been sold worldwide. Thus, the movie, book publishing, and television industries procure audiences for one another, and the ancient-astronaut hype continues to grow.

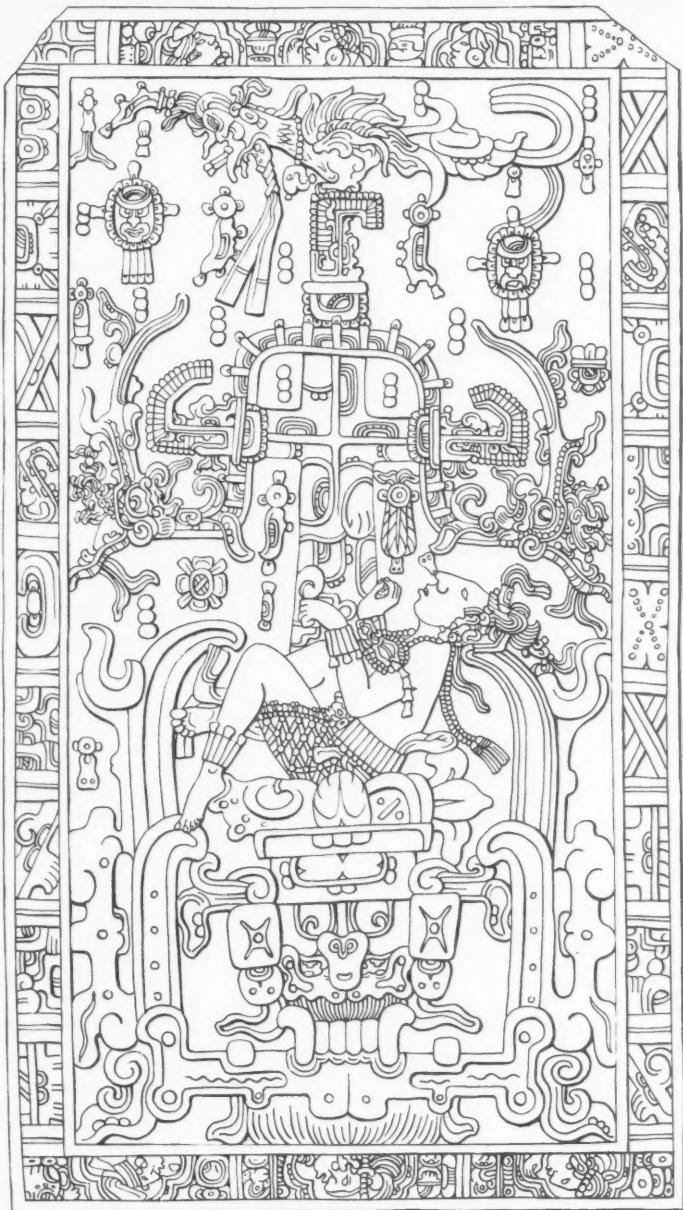
NBC has defended its part in the hoax on the grounds that the programs were channeled through the entertainment rather than the news division. But this does not appease NBC's critics. Ronald Story, author of *The Space-Gods Revealed*, which was published last year and which systematically debunks von Däniken, has said: "I have a big complaint with the movie and TV producers. They've said, in effect, 'This is fact.' They've presented it as truth. It should have been labeled science fiction."

Just how deceptive were the NBC programs? The tone of "In Search of Ancient Astronauts" is set when the announcer (Rod Serling) identifies von Däniken as "a German professor possessed of the mind of a scientist." Von Däniken is neither German nor a professor. He is a former Swiss hotelkeeper who served two prison terms for embezzlement, forgery, and fraud, and who was described by a court-appointed psychiatrist as "a liar and a criminal psychopath."

Viewers are next told that some large round holes found in the Yucatan peninsula were probably formed by "the exhaust gases of a very powerful rocket engine." In fact, these holes are nothing more mysterious than sinkholes, places where the water level has dropped beneath a limestone shelf, causing the rock to collapse. Nor are the statues on Easter Island carved from rock "so hard that repeated hammering with a stone chisel hardly scratches it" — the implication being that ancient astronauts, with their highly advanced technology, had a hand in their creation. Thor Heyerdahl once watched six Easter Islanders, using their traditional tools, carve out the contours of a statue in only three days.

In another bizarre "Ancient Astronaut" segment, the viewer is informed that God instructed Moses to cover the ark of the covenant with a layer of gold. "If we were to build a replica of the ark today according to Moses's instructions," the narrator tells us, "we would have a condenser charged with several hundred volts. Could the gold sheet have been a form of loudspeaker, a two-way radio reproducing a voice from afar?"

The second NBC special, "In Search of Ancient Mysteries," was also replete with factual errors and, like the first, it relied heavily on rhetorical questions.



Courtesy Francis Robicsek

The Palenque 'astronaut'

Above is an illustration, drawn from a photograph, of a famous sarcophagus lid found inside a pyramid at the Mayan site of Palenque. Scholars believe it to be a representation of a famous ruler, named Pacal, who is shown in a state of suspension between the world of the living and the world of the dead. A trained eye can distinguish many classic Mayan motifs, including a two-headed serpent, a corn plant, the Quetzal bird, and a cross.

But according to the NBC television program "In Search of Ancient Astronauts," the scene depicts "a man sitting in a capsule. His hands seem to be operating some unidentifiable controls. His foot pressing a lever. And at the rear of the capsule are jets trailing flames behind him. He seems to be dressed for the job in trousers with a broad belt, a sort of jacket, tight-fitting at the wrists. The chair is well-upholstered to absorb the shock of acceleration."

"Is the Bermuda Triangle the corridor to outer space?" viewers were asked. "Did the first space colonists plant a homing device, a navigational aid, under these waters — a beacon for spacecraft to home in on?" And so on. It is the accumulation of such rhetorical questions, lent authority by the announcer's terse voice, together with the documentary-news style, that can make the unwary viewer suspect that he or she is hearing something substantial.

If Lansburg and NBC ever stopped to wonder whether their bluff might be called, they must have been reassured by the aloofness scientists traditionally maintain toward such pseudo-scientific ventures. As Thor Heyerdahl observed in Ronald Story's book: "The feeling among those who could combat the world-sweeping hoaxes has been: Anyone stupid enough to take this kind of hoax seriously deserves to be cheated." But there have been stirrings in the scientific community that NBC might want to consider. The American Association for the Advancement of Science is assuming a more active role in fighting deceptive popular-science programming. William D. Carey, executive director of the A.A.S., said in an interview that his organization may establish regional panels to monitor and comment upon science programming. Carey said he was not familiar with the "ancient astronaut" shows, but that an A.A.S. committee would scrutinize communications law toward "the possibility of intervening in the licensing of stations" that consistently present inaccurate or deceptive science programs.

Did God destroy Sodom and Gomorrah with an atomic blast? Was the ark of the covenant really a giant electrical condenser? Did strange creatures from outer space help Joshua fit the battle of Jericho? NBC has urged its viewers to "look up at the stars some night and allow yourself the freedom to wonder."

Has the National Broadcasting Company helped to perpetrate a giant hoax? Is television programming really just a cheap trick to make people watch commercials? Is it true that a secret cabal meets at midnight under the full moon to devise the most mind-stultifying programs conceivable? Look at your television set some night and allow yourself the freedom to wonder. ■

For journalists only?

The Supreme Court
may be deciding
that the 'public's
right to know'
belongs to
— of all things —
the public

by RICHARD A.
SCHWARZLOSE

The public has a right to know. For thirty years, American journalism has employed that ringing slogan not only to extract information from the innards of government but to justify its own operations. In its name, freedom-of-information, "sunshine," and open-meeting laws have proliferated at both the state and the federal levels.

Possibly the phrase would not be tossed around so freely if journalists were to realize that the Supreme Court has indicated that it may be taking the public's right to know literally — that is, as a right of the public, not of journalists alone. Obviously, a public right so defined could impinge severely on journalists' prerogative of deciding what to publish.

To understand what a wrench this may cause in the news business it is necessary to recall that the phrase dates back at least to 1945, when Kent Cooper, general manager of The Associated Press, used it to keynote a campaign for improved access to gov-

ernment records and for uncensored reporting overseas. In the 1950s, the slogan was used to publicize the often useful campaign to gain news access to public records and meetings. This effort was led by, among others, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, whose counsel, Harold L. Cross, produced a book called *The People's Right to Know* (1953).

In the 1960s and 1970s, use of the phrase spread beyond the relatively well-defined issue of public records and proceedings to other news practices. Most strikingly, *The New York Times* and other newspapers used the term to justify publication in 1971 of the secret Pentagon Papers, and it turned up as well in other confrontations with the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations. News media came to rationalize a broad range of actions by invoking the public's right to know. The strategy has been effective. Not only does the phrase appeal to non-journalists for support and sympathy, but it drags a conceivably unwilling or uninterested citizenry along as accomplices.

There have been doubters. As early as 1967, John C. Merrill of the University of Missouri School of Journalism wrote: "Either we should stop talking about this 'right to know,' or we should bring it to a head in Congress or in the highest courts. Either it is a 'right' or it is not a 'right' and perhaps it would be wise to wipe this high-sounding phrase from our political lexicon if it is nothing more than an enigmatic but pleasant smile on the face of American Democracy."

Almost unnoticed by its chief publicists, the right to know has already attracted the interest of the highest courts. Specifically, the Supreme Court has moved in recent years to enunciate a theory of the right to know on grounds that many journalists will find unfamiliar. This theory has its origins in the tendency to grant affirmative, or "positive" constitutional rights, which often

seem to conflict with the older, "negative" protections of the Bill of Rights. Thus the First Amendment, which is stated as a negative ("Congress shall make no law . . ."), has been interpreted as making positive demands on the media, arising principally from two sources:

First, the social responsibility theory of the press, kindled in great share by the assertion in 1947 by the Commission on Freedom of the Press (Hutchins Commission) that media performance should be judged to a great degree on the range of public debate transmitted.

Second, the more recent campaign for public access to the media, generated by Jerome Barron's formulation of a First Amendment right of access.

JOURNALISM AND THE LAW

These concepts relied on government intervention, either to facilitate balanced debate or to accommodate individual access to the media and other public facilities. For example, the Federal Communications Commission's Fairness Doctrine imposes both these requirements on broadcasters.

In 1976, the Supreme Court moved to new ground, and indicated that the public itself, as well as government and the media, may have a controlling interest in the communications marketplace. This possibility emerged in a little-noted decision last May. The Court agreed 7-1 (Justice Rehnquist dissenting and Justice Stevens not participating) that the public had the right under the First Amendment to learn the prices that pharmacists charge for prescription drugs. The majority stated that the First Amendment's "protection . . . is to the communication, to its source and to its recipients both."

The case, known officially as *Virginia State Board of Pharmacy v. Virginia Citizens Consumer Council*, had two as-

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pects that were unusual:

- The pharmacist (or, in First Amendment terms, the speaker) was not a litigant. He was not pressing for a right to publish prices. Rather, the fight was between a state agency seeking to prohibit his speech and a citizens' group demanding it — in other words, invoking its right to know. The Court found in effect that citizens in the marketplace could command performance by a communications source, even at the expense of governmental regulation of that source.
- After noting that historically it had not granted commercial communication the same constitutional protection it had afforded public-affairs debate, the Court set that distinction aside. Justice Blackmun, for the majority, stated: "So long as we preserve a predominantly free enterprise economy, the allocation of our resources in large measure will be made through numerous private economic decisions. It is a matter of public interest that these decisions, in the aggregate, be intelligent and well informed. To this end, the free flow of commercial information is indispensable."

Where did the Court find support for these departures? It was able to call up at least nine decisions that it said had pointed the way. They stretched back to 1943 when, in *Martin v. Struthers*, the Court had said that "freedom [of speech] embraces the right to distribute literature . . . and necessarily protects the right to receive it." Justice Stewart, in a concurring opinion in the 1976 case, found the public's right to know in a 1940 decision, *Thornhill v. Alabama*, which overturned a state law forbidding picketing around a place of business, on the ground that "freedom of discussion, if it would fulfill its historic function in this nation, must embrace all issues about which information is needed or appro-

priate to enable members of society to cope with the exigencies of their period."

Further, *Virginia* is the fifth decision in the last ten years noting this principle in one way or another. The *Red Lion* decision of 1969 is probably the most familiar of the group. It is remembered principally for its upholding of the Fairness Doctrine. But the Court grounded its decision as follows: "It is the right of the public to receive suitable access to social, political, esthetic, moral, and other ideas and experiences which is crucial here."

Neither in *Red Lion* nor in the four other recent decisions cited did the Court actually use the phrase, "the public's right to know," perhaps because the media have overused it; but the principle was there — and the day may not be far off when the Court attempts to enforce the public's right against the news media themselves.

For we have now reached an era when news organizations may be as responsible for withholding information from the public as is government, if in a different way. Invoking "news judgment" and pleading time and space limitations, news-media managers are themselves an inevitable bottleneck in the flow of information. One need only think of the multiplication of information that has so affected the social and physical sciences, as well as public policymaking, in recent years to realize how little the media have expanded time, space, or depth to accommodate the expansion.

In *Virginia* the Court appears to be handing a weapon to those who wish to pry more out of the media. The decision says implicitly that if the sender is unwilling to produce the communication that the public wants or needs, the consumer or receiver has a right to demand that information. If citizens' groups and others take this possibility seriously, the news media may abruptly find themselves folding the old "right to know" umbrella. ■

'The Court found that citizens in the marketplace could command performance by a communications source'

The decline of the Herald-Examiner

Fifteen years ago, Hearst's Los Angeles daily was the country's biggest afternoon paper. Why is it now the country's most formidable salvage job?

by BOB GOTTLIEB

The trade weekly Editor & Publisher carried in its April 23, 1977, issue a story that began:

"George R. Hearst, Jr., publisher of [the] Los Angeles Herald-Examiner since 1962, has been promoted to the position of vice president of the Hearst Corporation with responsibility for the overall management of Hearst real estate interests.

"Additionally, Hearst will represent the corporation in connection with its investment interests in outside companies. He will assume his new duties immediately.

"Francis L. Dale, former publisher of [the] Cincinnati Enquirer, has been named publisher of [the] Herald-Examiner succeeding Hearst as chief executive."

As could be expected of such an opaque corporate announcement, there was much, much more to the story.

December 12, 1903: Hearst was coming! Thousands of trade-union members descended on Los Angeles to join what *The Fourth Estate* called a "monster demonstration" to celebrate the first issue of the *Los Angeles Examiner*, William Randolph Hearst's response to the union movement's prayers for an alternative to General Harrison Gray Otis's *Los Angeles Times*.

Down Broadway came the parade, while Otis armed his employees with Springfield rifles and warned that the *Examiner* was an "emissary of chaos" that would "array class against class." But a labor official declared that the new daily would be a "powerful and fearless newspaper."

Seventy-four years later, those great hopes have become little more than a dim, embarrassing memory. The *Herald-Examiner*, the descendant of the *Examiner*, is but a pale imitation of a metropolitan daily. It is a paper that for more

Bob Gottlieb is a Los Angeles free-lance writer, and the author of Thinking Big: The Story of the Los Angeles Times, to be published in October 1977. An earlier version of this article appeared in the February 1977 issue of Los Angeles magazine.

than a decade has lost an average of 35,000 readers and a million lines of advertising each year. What was once (briefly) the biggest-circulation afternoon daily in the country has lost half its readers; its ad lineage has fallen below the levels of the papers in, say, Shreveport, Louisiana, or Huntsville, Alabama.

The exact reasons for the decline are shrouded. The *Herald-Examiner*, a division of the privately held Hearst Corporation, does not make its finances public. But some information can be found in court and other official documents.

What emerges is a set of contradictions. While the *Herald-Examiner* lost advertising revenue and circulation; while the paper's management cut costs until, for example, the salaries of newsroom employees were barely above minimum-wage levels; while the paper itself became so thin that it had fewer pages than most weekly throwaways; while all this was happening, the paper's high command — its publisher, George Hearst; its general manager, George Sjostrom; and its counsel, Philip Battaglia — organized their own private company to do apparently profitable business with the *Herald-Examiner*. Such is the impression left in documents on file at the offices of the Ventura County recorder, the Los Angeles Superior Court, the California Corporation Division, and the California secretary of state.

It was all accomplished through something called Southern California Contractors, Incorporated, created in 1969 with three stockholders — the *Herald-Examiner* officers. S.C.C.I. is a fascinating creation, and its intertwining with the *Herald-Examiner* will be explored later.

The *Examiner* never had a chance. Less than a year after the giant labor parade, William Randolph Hearst made his peace with the city's business establishment, and things never really got better after that. But the paper did give the *Times* a run for its money. Through the early 1940s, the morning *Examiner* and the Hearst afternoon paper, the *Herald-Express*, challenged the *Times*.

Though steeped in the Hearstian formula of short copy, lurid headlines, and news-entertainment, the *Examiner* managed to maintain a modicum of editorial respectability with some notable political writers, entertainment critics, and the city's most evenhanded labor writer, Harry Bernstein. The *Herald-Express*, on the other hand, was the most Hearstian of the empire's afternoon tabs: shocking crime stories, virulent anticommunism, sex scandals, photos.

In 1962 the Hearst organization arrived at an agreement with Norman Chandler of the *Times* to fold simultaneously Chandler's afternoon *Mirror* and Hearst's morning *Examiner*, thus creating a morning monopoly for the improving

Times and an exclusive afternoon field for the *Herald-Express*, now called the *Herald-Examiner*. On the face of it, the Hearst interests appeared to lose some ground with the arrangement. The morning *Examiner* had been making a lot more money than the afternoon *Herald*, and the advertisers, because of distribution problems and the existence of competitive suburban afternoon dailies, preferred a morning paper. Nonetheless, the Hearst Corporation decided to opt for the afternoon monopoly, partly because the publisher of the old *Herald-Express*, who would be in line for the publisher's spot on the new afternoon paper, was George Randolph Hearst, Jr.

This eldest grandson of William Randolph Hearst was born in San Francisco on July 13, 1927, just four months before his future opponent at the *Times*, Otis Chandler. The two publishing heirs had similar upbringings: Both went to Phillips Exeter Academy, both served in the military in the Korean War period, both loved the outdoors and the Southern California sportsman's ambience. (For George it was polo, hunting, fishing, and, above all, his horses and the rodeo.) Both received training in the business departments of their families' newspaper properties, and both were slated to be publishers and potential heirs to the throne.

Young Hearst became the assistant business manager of the *Herald-Express* in 1956, business manager the following year, and publisher in May 1960, replacing his uncle, David Hearst. Otis Chandler had become publisher of the *Times* a month earlier.

The new publisher seemed slated for success and power. He was the first of his generation to appear interested in the newspaper business, and the family responded by naming him to the board of the Hearst Corporation and to the inner circles of the family council. The latter position served him well. He was able to fight for his afternoon paper during the 1962 upheaval, and he kept it. In the months that followed he saw the *Herald-Examiner*'s circulation climb to 775,000, the largest afternoon sales in the country.

In December 1967, the *Herald*'s fortunes plummeted when thirteen craft unions, including the Newspaper Guild, struck the paper or were locked out. Management had anticipated the strike and, according to some, actually provoked it in order to rid the paper of the unions.

Hearst interests in Los Angeles had always looked enviously at the "San Francisco solution" — the joint operating agreement that pooled all facilities except editorial staff at Hearst's *San Francisco Examiner* and the Thieriot family's *San Francisco Chronicle*. There had been no similar arrangement in Los Angeles because Chandler's *Times* had been a nonunion plant and the *Herald* had always had unions. Before the strike, the paper hired professional strikebreakers, beefed up security, and began a new printing operation outside the city.

Still, the strike was a devastating experience. Violence became endemic on the picket lines and inside the plant. The paper barely survived the first several months and only gradually regained a semblance of regularity.

By 1969 Hearst appeared to have beaten the strike, though picketing continued and the A.F.L.-C.I.O. encouraged an advertisers' boycott. But instead of regaining lost

continued on page 38



Above: a thin 1977 copy of the Herald-Examiner.
Below: strike headquarters in 1970 urged boycott



This is where



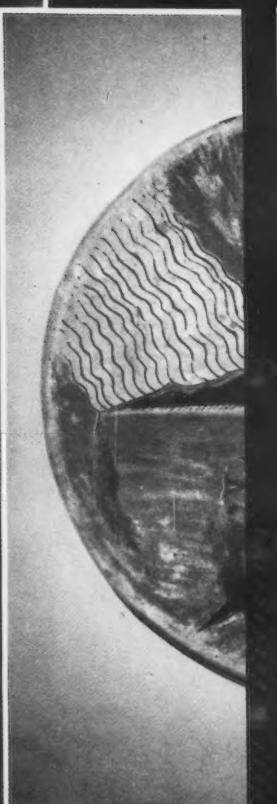
NOOTKA WOODEN HOUSE FRONT. Nootka Sound, British Columbia.
Photo: Carmelo Guadagno. Museum of the American Indian, New York City.



ESKIMO MASK.
Collection of the Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow,
Scotland.



NISKA FRONTLET HEADDRESS. Nass River, British Columbia.
Photo: Carmelo Guadagno. Museum of the American Indian, New York City.

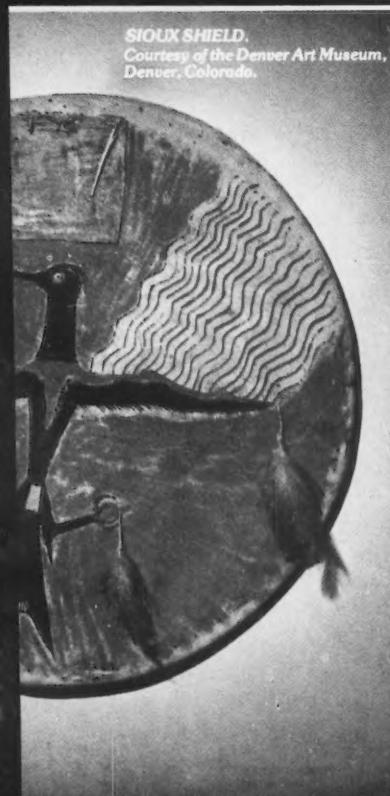


we come from.

TLINGIT-KLUKWAN SWAN MASK.
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Morton Sosland.



SIOUX SHIELD.
Courtesy of the Denver Art Museum,
Denver, Colorado.



The American Indians weren't just the first Americans. They were the first American artists.

They invented tobacco, but we would have sponsored their work if they only invented corn.

Because whether you come from one of these tribes, or only the human tribe, this is where you come from.

We all come from a time and place in human history when there were no artists—but every man was an artist. And the art he created was in harmony with himself and his world.

"They had what the world has lost," wrote John Collier. And, he could have added, we had better recapture it.

That's the reason we sponsored these exhibitions of their work.* In our business, individual imagination, individual innovativeness, individual creativity are more necessary today than ever before. They probably are in your business, too. Sponsorship of art that forcefully reminds us of that, and of where we came from, and where we still must be, is not patronage. It's a business and human necessity.

If your company would like to know more about corporate sponsorship of art, write Joseph F. Cullman 3rd, Chairman of the Board, Philip Morris Incorporated, 100 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

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Makers of Marlboro, Benson & Hedges 100's, Merit, Parliament, Virginia Slims and Multifilter;
Miller High Life Beer, Lite Beer and Personna Blades.

**"Two Hundred Years of North American Indian Art" appeared at the Whitney Museum of American Art, N.Y., N.Y., sponsored by Philip Morris Incorporated.

**"Masterworks from the Museum of the American Indian" appeared at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y., N.Y., sponsored by Philip Morris Incorporated, on behalf of Marlboro, with the assistance of the National Endowment for the Arts.

advertisers and readers, the paper continued a decline that had begun even before the strike. From a circulation of 725,000, the *Herald* dropped to 352,459 in the public audit in March 1976. Ad lineage figures were even more startling. In 1967 the *Herald* had more than 23.6 million ad lines, excluding Sunday. In 1968, the first full year of the strike, the total dropped to 16.7 million lines. In 1976, the figure dipped to 8.7 million lines.

By the early 1970s, nearly the entire editorial department consisted of newcomers hired since 1968, many of whom had little or no idea that a strike was in progress. Most of the strikers had found jobs at other newspapers, and picket lines appeared infrequently.

There was a chance then to make a fresh start. Instead, Hearst presided over a newspaper that easily made the "ten-worst" list compiled by *More*, the journalism review, in 1974. The deadliest of the old Hearstian news formulas remained intact at the *Herald-Examiner*. Articles were to be short first, coherent second; controversy was out; "Americanism" was in. Aside from local crime news or trials, most stories in the news section — including much of the coverage of cousin Patty Hearst's tribulations — were picked up from the wires.

Herald reporters worked in what were, for a big-city daily, abysmal conditions. There was constant discouragement of initiative. There were instances of overt internal censorship, including direct suggestions by editors that certain subjects — e.g., an institution on whose board George Hearst sat — were off limits. Reporters were sent out to cover "puff" items boosting Hearst's friends and allies.

Those "controversial" items that did run were often a reflection of Hearst's and his editors' political or social preferences. The managing editor, Donald Goodenow, for example, occasionally took trips to such countries as Rhodesia, Taiwan, Guatemala, South Africa, and South Korea, his flights paid for by the host government. Goodenow then wrote reports of his "fact-finding" tours. On October 15, 1976, Goodenow printed in the *Herald* (after the Korean C.I.A.-Tongsun Park stories had already broken) a glowing portrait of South Korea's Park government. "Koreanized Democracy," Goodenow declared, "with its priorities of security, economy, and reunification, may not be every nation's cup of Ginseng tea, but in South Korea, the system is working. President Park does dominate the governmental organization chart and his influence is omnipotent, but his humane domestic programs are signposts pointing to a future of free spirit and a strong economy, with the emphasis on self-reliance."

The paper was frequently beset with absurdities. The day after the Indonesian oil tanker exploded in Long Beach last December, the *Herald* ran a major page-one headline: OIL TANKER EXPLODES IN HARBOR; TWO PERSONS KILLED IN GIGANTIC BLAST. That same day there appeared, also on page one, William Randolph Hearst Jr.'s "Editor's Report" concerning oil shipments from the Alaska pipeline. He strongly criticized "nature worshippers" who complained about "intolerable risks" for the Los Angeles area if a supertanker port were established at the Long Beach harbor.



Two Georges: Sjostrom and Hearst in 1967

The "Oil Tanker" headline and the Hearst column appeared in the first edition of the paper before someone finally noticed and pulled the column and substituted one in which Hearst explained to readers that he was "refraining this week from commenting on the world."

Demoralization of the staff seemed complete. Salaries were incredibly low: Starting base pay for a reporter without previous experience was \$128 a week; the highest salary for an old-timer was \$234 a week. Conditions were degrading. A couple of years before management had instituted a punch-clock system for reporters. A reporter coming to work ten minutes late would be docked.

"Why should we care?" one copy editor remarked. "Some people even screw up on purpose. A copy editor might see some turgid copy but will let it go." There was hardly any feedback from management concerning the work — except, perhaps, in cases where potentially controversial stories got toned down by the reporters themselves. "That was the final straw for me," one ex-*Herald* reporter recalled. "I handed in a story where I had changed it that way, and then I realized what was happening. I didn't want to have a 'Hearst news judgment,' so I quit."

Quitting (or getting fired) became an institution at the *Herald*; there was a 30 percent turnover each year. "I felt the same way as the day I got out of the Air Force," one ex-staffer proclaimed. "I know working for the paper had a direct physical impact on my life: I was oversleeping, my weight was down, I was tense all the time. It lasted seven years — until I was fired."

Dismissals at the paper were numerous and sometimes arbitrary, and paranoia ran high. (For example, management made it amply clear that anyone quoted by name in this article might find his job in jeopardy, thus making "not for attribution" interviews a prerequisite. General manager Sjostrom told me that nobody at the *Herald* was authorized to speak for the paper: "If they do so," he declared, "they could potentially put their job in danger.")

Many of the staff felt the paper had reached rock bottom; that it simply couldn't get any worse. But just as all hope seemed gone, a new force entered the scene.

In the spring of 1974, two truck drivers, who had been hired after the 1967 strike, decided to form a union. After initially meeting with a Teamsters organizer, they signed up forty-one of forty-two drivers, but soon found out that or-

ganizing a union meant a lot more than just truck drivers.

The *Herald* was still officially on strike, and, further, drivers had been represented before 1967 by the Newspaper Guild, a union composed largely of white-collar employees. For the drivers to organize themselves they first had to "de-certify" the Guild, then vote in their own union in an election that would include drivers, editorial workers, and classified ad personnel.

At this point the Teamsters pulled out, but by now the drivers had made contacts throughout the building and were finding receptive ears everywhere. The logic of the organizing drive was clear — not for a series of craft unions as before but for the proverbial "one big union," a plantwide bargaining agent, a first for newspapers.

For editorial employees, the union represented the first hope that conditions could change, not only pay and security but esprit. Some staffers, particularly oldtimers who had crossed the picket lines in 1967, remained adamantly antiunion, but they were a minority. In general, white-collar "professionals" making as little as \$128 a week had few pretensions of class superiority left. In department after department the union won large majorities; by September 1976 the old strike was over and a new union, under the umbrella of International Printing and Graphic Communications Union (formerly the Pressmen), represented the whole work force at the *Herald-Examiner*.

Negotiations for a contract, however, turned out to be just another demoralizing experience. Management did not seek a prompt settlement — a prerequisite, many on the staff believed, for a fresh start at the paper. The negotiating sessions were marked by hostility and pettiness. In one instance concerning paid leaves, management agreed to three days for deaths in the family, but disagreed with the union over the definition of "family." Ultimately, management agreed to leave for death of a spouse or a parent, but not of a sibling.

Negotiations reached a crisis point this past February. Management stalled on two key provisions: a union shop for membership, and a wage hike higher than 4 or 5 percent. The union leadership began to talk about a possible strike, which turned out to be a serious miscalculation. Editorial

workers, particularly from the sports department and leisure sections, showed up at union meetings and mobilized against a strike. For the first time, signs of race and class divisions rose to the surface. No strike vote was taken, but the union went back to the talks considerably weakened.

Management, however, was also in trouble. Stories in the local press had revealed some of the conditions at the *Herald* and Hearst headquarters in New York began to press for a settlement. Finally, in late February, union and management agreed to a 7 percent wage hike with a greatly weakened union-shop provision (union membership was not required, though new employees would be obliged to join).

Despite the weaker contract, the impetus to change and grow still existed. The contract institutionalized a new force at the paper — staff organization. Staff interests were conceivably based on more than higher wages. A new spirit and better product were distant though obtainable goals.

But management, stubbornly, insistently, always seemed to be on a different track. Not just Hearst (who never attended a negotiating session) but also Hearst's main man, the one staffers knew really ran the paper; the one around whom business decisions revolved, and who made decisions in literally every department of the paper, including editorial; the man who put in the time clocks, the real power at the *Herald*: its general manager, George William Sjostrom.

A couple of years older than George Hearst, Sjostrom came out to southern California from Minnesota in 1948 to work for the *Examiner*. He made his way up the company ranks, becoming assistant advertising director in 1959, assistant business manager for the new *Herald-Examiner* in 1962, business manager in 1965, and, finally, general manager in 1967.

After the strike, he began to assume uncontested power at the paper. "Sjostrom controls the flow of information," one of the paper's management executives remarked. "He controls all the figures. He's the boss."

But Hearst and Sjostrom — and their shrinking ad revenues — had to answer to the Hearst Corporation in New York. The home office had been known to shut down failing newspapers. Anticipating this, the two came up with one ace: the Cal Graphics printing establishment at Buena Park, originally set up to print the *Herald* during the 1967 strike.

Unsold Herald-Examiners are hauled away (1972) in a truck operated by S.C.C.I., the side enterprise run by the paper's executives



The Newspaper Guild

Hearst and Sjostrom were able to put the presses on twenty-four-hour call by expanding the operation to include the printing of color comics for many daily newspapers west of the Rockies. The volume of trade was enormous, and by the mid-1970s Cal Graphics was making a hefty profit.

But why had Hearst and Sjostrom not seemed to battle harder to save the paper itself? "They must know that their activities appear to deliberately confuse and demoralize the staff," said one employee who had a personal relationship with Hearst. "It doesn't make sense. Why are things done the way they're done?"

One clue may lie up past the Ventura oilfields on the way to Ojai. There, off Route 33, is an old turn-of-the-century throughway called the Canada Largo Road, a narrow road that winds through rolling hills and flat lands, lands for grazing cattle and horses, and the home of Ventura County's Rancho Canada Largo.

The ranch was purchased in 1969 by a newly formed partnership called the Canada Land and Cattle Company, which included as limited partners George Hearst, George Sjostrom, and Hearst lawyer Philip Battaglia. In a complicated series of transactions, the three partners acquired title to the land to become, in the best Southern California tradition, "land barons."

The general partner in Canada Land and Cattle was the aforementioned Southern California Contractors Incorporated, created in 1969 with three stockholders-cum-company officers: Hearst, Sjostrom, and Battaglia.

Battaglia, according to one Hearst observer, seemed to be the brains trust for George Hearst. A partner in the law firm of Flint and MacKay, which represented the *Herald* and S.C.C.I., Battaglia had numerous political connections, having served as Ronald Reagan's campaign manager in 1966 and the former governor's first executive secretary. He was also mayor of Rolling Hills until he resigned in 1975 in protest over — and refusal to comply with — newly enacted state financial-disclosure provisions. Battaglia kept the minute books of S.C.C.I. and was the secretary. Hearst was president and Sjostrom vice-president and treasurer.

After S.C.C.I. was formed in 1969 it immediately began to develop and expand its interests. Besides the ranch purchase, it provided personal services for Hearst's rodeo company — a division of S.C.C.I. — and even set up a separate "ranch and rodeo" division.

The most extensive S.C.C.I. operations, however, developed around its financial ties to the *Herald*. S.C.C.I. formed at least six companies that did business with the *Herald*.

One involved transportation: S.C.C.I. organized the Contractors Transport Company, which used several new trailer trucks — compared with the shabbier trucks used by the *Herald* itself. Numerous delivery contracts were given to S.C.C.I., and *Herald* staffers report that the big white Contractors Transport trucks — with the S.C.C.I. company logo of a large bird descending — were constantly coming in and out of the *Herald* building.

Construction, repair, and contracting services formed a second distinct S.C.C.I. business. For example, S.C.C.I. was responsible for installing the chute system used to

transport newspaper bales to the delivery trucks. It also helped remodel an entire floor in the *Herald* building.

Guard service constituted a third. After the 1967 strike, the *Herald* hired Pinkerton's to provide security, but Hearst and Sjostrom soon replaced them with S.C.C.I. companies. S.C.C.I. provided the service for both the *Herald* and the Cal Graphics plant in Buena Vista.

A fourth function involved uniform sales, a fifth provided office supplies, and a sixth did accounting and auditing work. The *Herald* had used the national firm Media Records, as did most newspapers, for information concerning detailed breakdowns on ad lineage and types of advertisers, information crucial to the newspaper business. Though Media Records is expensive, most newspapers consider it well worth the cost.

Not Hearst and Sjostrom. A couple of years ago the account was terminated and replaced with an S.C.C.I. company, Westport, Incorporated. Westport was run by two sons of Hearst and Sjostrom and immediately developed — at best — a dubious reputation. But it saved costs for the *Herald* while presumably making money for Hearst, Sjostrom, and Battaglia.

The *Herald* provided services for S.C.C.I. as well. One employee noted that S.C.C.I. material was constantly being set by *Herald* typesetters, with the work becoming known as the "personal business" of the boss. A secretary with the Hearst Advertising Service, who worked across the hall from S.C.C.I., jealously recalled the nice carpets and sense of elegance of the S.C.C.I. offices, which contrasted with the plain quarters of the ad service.

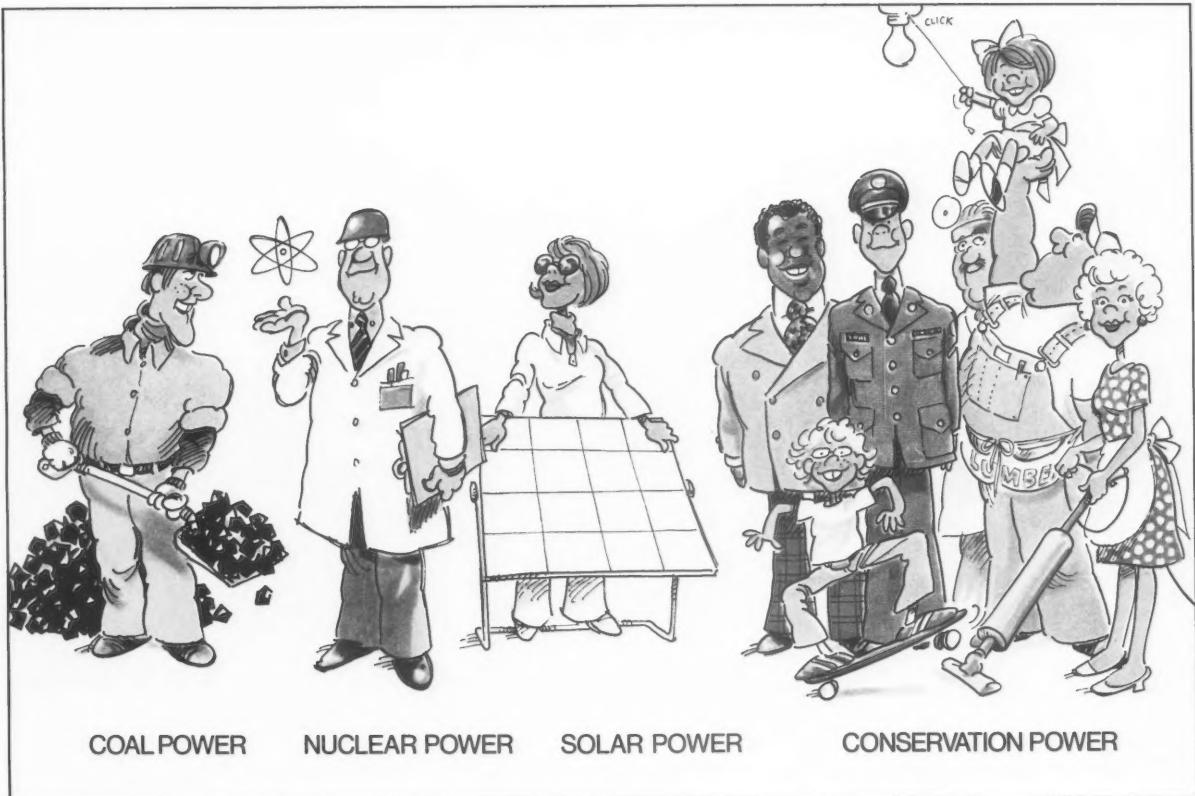
It seemed apparent to some of the people who worked closely with Hearst and Sjostrom that some of their long hours might well have been related to the S.C.C.I. operations. It didn't take long before the rumor spread throughout the *Herald* that their two bosses were somehow dealing for themselves while the paper continued to decline. It was the ultimate demoralizing rumor.

S.C.C.I. was an ingenious operation. The Hearst corporation couldn't really complain since, as in the case of the guard service and auditing service, Hearst and Sjostrom could claim that they were saving the company money.

Nor did there seem to be anything illegal about the activities. A privately held corporation does not need to disclose information concerning "insider dealing," of which S.C.C.I. is a classic case. Who's to complain? Demoralized journalists anxious about the next job? Disenfranchised readers? But the story of the *Herald-Examiner* raises larger issues, beyond the doings of Hearst, Sjostrom, and Battaglia.

What is the real conflict of interest in today's newspaper world? Is a declining product the future of the *Herald*, and, if so, what's left of newspaper competition in the nation's second largest media center? Are Hearst and Sjostrom exceptions to the rule when it comes to publishers? Or were they simply more resourceful practitioners of the principle that journalism is a business and nothing more? That principle seems to have been taken to the extreme in the case of the *Herald-Examiner*. ■

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Energy for a strong America

Remember swine flu?

In reporting the famous non-epidemic, the press faithfully reflected official confusion

by DAVID M. RUBIN

From the comfortable perspective of 1977, the swine-flu inoculation program of 1976 was a \$135 million gamble that failed. *Why* it failed is a matter of debate. Some point to its illegitimate birth as a clumsy public-relations effort by the Ford administration, designed to aid the reelection of the incumbent. Others cite a lack of preparation by public-health officials for the problems likely to arise, and for public reaction to them. And some blame the medical community for misreading data and bending to extraordinary financial and political pressures.

In any major failure of a public-policy objective, the press is also viewed as a villain of some proportion. The press has been criticized for America's "loss of nerve" in Vietnam, and for failing to alert the public to the energy crisis, or to violations of civil liberties by the C.I.A. and F.B.I. So, too, in the case of swine flu. Some are convinced that the press sensationalized the story, distorted the facts, and led a scare campaign that convinced much of the public that the

program was dangerous and ill-conceived. Conversely, the press has been condemned by others as the handmaiden of the medical establishment in selling the program to the public.

What is the truth of such charges? Did the press (both print and broadcast) sabotage the public's confidence in the inoculation program? Did the press play its traditional adversary role? In answering this question, we will examine the ability of the press to cope with *any* story of complexity and depth, particularly on a scientific subject.

It is, of course, impossible to survey press coverage by the thousands of news outlets in the United States for so large a topic as swine flu. To make the task manageable, and our findings valid, we chose to focus on a single week in the inoculation program: October 11 through 17, 1976. This was the week the program began in earnest, the week a number of elderly people died after receiving the shot. We believed it fair to expect that whatever else a medium had done with the story before October 11, its performance that week would be a good barometer of its performance throughout.

We analyzed stories in nineteen daily newspapers*, the evening news broadcasts of the three television networks, and the output of one of the two major domestic wire services — United Press International. With some exceptions, we chose to analyze newspapers in major metropolitan areas where the most respected papers are published. Our sample is, if anything, clearly skewed in favor of the *best* the American press has to offer.

We found that, with few exceptions, newspaper and television coverage was neither sensational nor inaccurate. On the contrary, it faithfully reflected the confusion among public officials at the Center for Disease Control, (C.D.C.) Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and in local public-health units. Few dissenters to the program

were quoted that week, and spokesmen for the government viewpoint had a virtual monopoly of the airwaves and news columns. Almost from the first report of the deaths in Pittsburgh, the news media provided alternative hypotheses for the cause of death. Few stories left unchallenged the impression that the vaccine itself might have caused the deaths. The story was given top billing by most of the media for at least the first three days of crisis, and a comparatively large amount of time and space was devoted to it.

Nevertheless, only a handful of the newspapers — particularly *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times* and *The Miami Herald* — took advantage of the public's anxiety to present coverage of depth and sophistication. The other papers, even those in major cities, and the networks relied heavily on wire services, whose output in this instance was typical of wire service work on almost any major story. It was high in volume; it was reasonably accurate; it was not sensationalist. And it was exceedingly superficial, focusing on numbers of dead rather than causes of death and on the defenses of the public-health establishment, rather than on the underlying logic of the entire program.

Given the economic constraints within which the wires must operate, however, it is unrealistic to expect much more than they provided. If a villain exists anywhere in this piece, it is the three television network news shows,

David M. Rubin is chairman of New York University's department of journalism and an associate editor of *More*. This article, adapted from an address delivered in April to the American College of Physicians in Dallas, was prepared under a grant from the A.C.P. with the research assistance of Val Hendy, a master's degree candidate at the university.

* *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The Miami Herald*, *The Pittsburgh Press*, *The Atlanta Constitution*, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, *Manchester (N.H.) Union-Leader*, *New York Post*, *The Denver Post*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Milwaukee Sentinel*, *The Boston Globe*, *Casper (Wyo.) Star-Tribune*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *The Dallas Morning News*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Baltimore Sun*.

which refused to break out of their ordinary pattern for this story. None preempted profitable entertainment programming for a special on the deaths. None provided anything other than the typical correspondent-on-the scene coverage, and only one of these reporters, ABC's Jules Bergman, had any science background. Only NBC talked to anyone other than the proponents of the inoculation program. None raised such obvious questions as "What is swine flu?" or "What is a vaccine?" or "What are the risks of inoculation?" CBS provided what may have been the biggest boost for the beleaguered program that week, when Walter Cronkite interviewed President Ford and provided him a platform to advise all 215 million Americans to get the shot. This recommendation, of course, was contrary to the advice of Ford's own advisors. Cronkite did not correct the president's error, and only a few of the newspapers that ran the story offered the correction. It was a sad performance by the medium on which 36 percent of Americans say they rely exclusively for their news.

The approach of U.P.I. to the swine flu story explains much about how the American press works, and why it works as it does. The first story on the deaths was moved by U.P.I. on October 11 at 11:01 P.M. E.D.T. Ironically, the two Pittsburgh papers did not make much of the story at first. On the morning of October 12, the *Post-Gazette* ran only a short report of two deaths, and the evening paper, *The Pittsburgh Press*, ran a low-keyed feature on elderly people reacting to the deaths under a headline which read: WAIT-SEE ON SHOTS, MOST SAY.

From here the story could have gone in one of two directions. The C.D.C. and medical community's ideal version might have had the papers in Pittsburgh continue to play down the stories of the deaths. If this had happened, the wires never would have picked up on the story

and interconnected with other cities looking for more deaths — thus averting the *appearance* of a plague. Only the C.D.C. would have had the statistics.

But *The Pittsburgh Press*'s science writer, Dolores Frederick, learned that the three elderly people who had died had all been vaccinated with the same batch of Parke-Davis vaccine. On October 13, the *Press* ran her story, which also revealed that the same batch of vaccine had been distributed to twelve other Allegheny County clinics and to cities in twenty other states and the District of Columbia. The wires ran with the story and were soon performing the C.D.C.'s statistical function. The nationwide "plague" was on.

The U.P.I. reporter, Scott MacLeod, who wrote many of the stories that went over the national wire from Pittsburgh, had no science or medical background at all — only a bachelor's degree and a liberal arts education. We found that the single most important variable in the quality of coverage was the background of the reporters. It was the excellent work done by science and medical writers, Victor Cohn and Thomas O'Toole of *The Washington Post*, Lawrence K. Altman, M.D., and Harold M. Schmeck of *The New York Times*, and Harry Nelson of the *Los Angeles Times*, which so distinguished these papers in their coverage of the swine flu story.

Without the background or the time to respond to the story thoughtfully, MacLeod and all the other reporters like him around the country proceeded in the only way open to them: They chronicled the events. From U.P.I.'s perspective, the story had attractive elements. It involved mysterious deaths on a national scale. Each new death not only afforded U.P.I. something tangible on which to base a story, but the changing body count permitted new leads almost every hour. Thus on one level, the story played to the strength of the wires.

Dr. Theodore Cooper of H.E.W. was not wrong to decry the "body count

mentality" of the press, but he ought to have realized that this response was thoroughly predictable given the nature of the story, and it was a major element of *every* medium's coverage. (One U.P.I. reporter told a health official that he was called to account for the fact that at one point The Associated Press had a higher body count than U.P.I. and clients were demanding an explanation.)

Because reporters, such as the wire reporters, were not equipped to ask basic scientific questions about the vaccine, its administration, its composition, and the inoculation program as a whole, numbers became the basis of most coverage. The typical stories appearing in the newspapers and on television that week presented little more than numbers. Numbers of dead, numbers of years the so-called "victims" had lived, numbers of clinics closed, numbers of doses of vaccine available, numbers of states and cities reopening the clinics. For the unprepared reporter, there was safety in those numbers.

Despite the many hundreds of experts who might have been asked by the press for comment on the deaths, the same group of government authorities was quoted to the virtual exclusion of everyone else. These sources included Dr. David Sencer and Dr. Donald Millar of the C.D.C.; Dr. Cyril Wecht, Allegheny County coroner; Dr. Frank Clack, Director of the Allegheny County Health Department; Dr. William Lukash, President Ford's personal physician; and Ron Nessen, Ford's press secretary.

Why this emphasis on such a small group? In a complex or potentially volatile area, an uncertain reporter is comfortable dealing with "official" sources. It is the safe approach to composing a story. No editor would second-guess a reporter who solicited a comment from an official of the C.D.C. or the local head of the public-health program, but

'None of the networks probed deeply into the background of immunization, swine flu vaccine, or swine flu itself'

information obtained from anyone outside that sphere would be difficult to evaluate and potentially troublesome. Only reporters with a grasp of the problem, and a detailed network of reliable sources outside the top levels of officialdom, could risk questioning other people.

The companion pieces, or so-called sidebars, to these news accounts, also took on a predictable pattern. Easiest and most common was the reaction story, in which a reporter interviewed inoculees who managed to live through it; the relatives of the deceased; nurses in the clinic; and local public-health officials. *The Boston Globe*, *The Atlanta Constitution*, *The Pittsburgh Press*, *The Baltimore Sun*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and *The New York Times* all ran stories on the reactions of elderly people to the deaths of the inoculees. *The Dallas Morning News* ran a feature written by a reporter who had fainted while covering the inoculation story and the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* had a piece on a local religious group's feelings about swine flu inoculations.

Television followed the same pattern of presenting numbers, official statements, and sidebars. Indeed, television's coverage of the story on October 12 impelled many papers to move on the story. But out of a combined total of sixty-six minutes of news each night for the three networks, a total of only eleven minutes, five seconds was devoted to swine flu on October 12, thirteen minutes, thirty-eight seconds on October 13, and four minutes, twenty-nine seconds on October 14.

Only NBC gave air time to one of the dissenting voices to the swine flu program — Dr. J. Anthony Morris, a virologist, formerly with the Bureau of Biologics. None of the networks probed deeply into the background of immunization, swine flu vaccine, or swine flu itself.

Late in March 1977, CBS alone gave a full fifteen minutes to a variety of stories related to the air crash at Tenerife. The same thing, at least, ought to have been done with swine flu at some point during the week of October 11. It is probable that the networks were remiss in their coverage of the swine flu crisis because they simply did not have qualified personnel to cover the story.

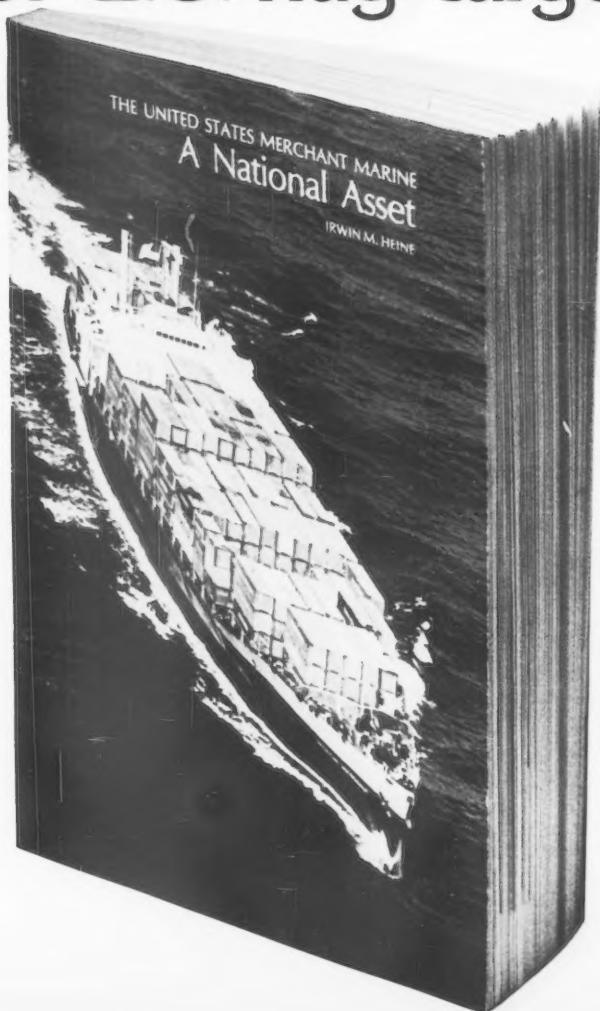
It is fair to call the bulk of press coverage unimaginative, predictable, superficial, and, unfortunately, typical. It is the best that we can expect of the press in such circumstances. But it was not misleading, sensational, or inaccurate — except in a couple of instances. *The New York Post* sent a reporter to Pittsburgh and his story was run under the headline: **THE SCENE AT THE PA. DEATH CLINIC**. He described the passing of seventy-five-year-old Julia Bucci, who "had winced at the sting of the hypodermic . . . taken a few feeble steps, then dropped dead. . . ." *The Post* picked up from *Time* magazine the notion that mobster Carlo Gambino had died after receiving a swine flu shot. "Unverified mob talk" had it that the old Godfather had been urged by Carmine (Lilo) Galante's spies within the Gambino family to get the shot, thus putting the government in the position of Mafia hit man. U.P.I. moved an unfortunate story over the national wire that linked swine flu with the Legionnaire's disease.

But these abuses were rare. Of greater significance was the performance of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and *The Miami Herald*. These four papers and their science and medical writers demonstrated what *could* be done by publications of quality even under the difficult reporting circumstances of the swine flu story.

The Miami Herald ran an extensive question-and-answer piece about swine flu as a lead story on the front page that week. Harry Nelson of the *Los Angeles Times* wrote a lengthy and comprehensive background and history of swine flu, which appeared on October 11. Thomas O'Toole of *The Washington Post* did a superb background story on the missing enzyme, neuraminidase, in the swine flu vaccine. *The New York Times*, in addition to its excellent daily coverage written by Harold M. Schmeck and Lawrence K. Altman, ran a thorough examination of Canada's reasons for rejecting an inoculation program there.

It was the attempt by these papers to ask the very basic questions, such as "What is swine flu?" as well as more involved questions — its legal ramifications, possible political motivations, po-

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'The inoculation program should have taught journalists a few things about improving the quality of coverage of public health and medical news'

tential side effects, and the development of the vaccine — that produced their extraordinary coverage. The other papers, by and large, avoided dealing with such questions in their stories. Additionally, we found a direct correlation between the quality of coverage in a news medium and the number of sources consulted (i.e., cited in the coverage) during the week for information on the inoculation program. *The New York Times* used twenty-two sources, *The Washington Post* had seventeen, and *The Miami Herald* twelve, as compared with *The Denver Post*'s two, *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*'s five and the *Casper (Wyo.) Star-Tribune*'s one.

The confusion over the deaths and whether or not inoculation centers would stay open or close is directly traceable to confusion among the main sources and a lack of coordination in their dealings with the press by the C.D.C., H.E.W., and local public-health officials.

Many reporters complained about the C.D.C.'s level of cooperation during the October crisis. They realized that phones were ringing off the hook, but when calls *did* get through, reporters said they were treated in a haughty manner by public-relations people. One reporter who got through to Dr. Millar said Millar had been "abrasive, pompous and antagonistic." Another said the C.D.C. was the most "offensive" of all government agencies with which he had dealings. Dr. Pascal Imperato, first Deputy Health Commissioner of New York City, relied on the wires for his information because he was unable to get through directly to the C.D.C. Dolores Frederick, science and medical writer for *The Pittsburgh Press*, said that one local public-relations aide told her, "I'm tired of running around getting information for *The Pittsburgh Press*," despite the fact that this is precisely the function of such a person.

The swine flu inoculation program was undoubtedly a painful lesson in public relations for the C.D.C., but it should also have taught journalists a few things about improving the quality of coverage of public health and medical news.

First, editors and station managers serious about providing such information should consider hiring a science and

medical writing specialist. We found that the presence of such reporters on the news staff was the most important variable in the quality of coverage.

Second, if reporters want to avoid becoming captives of "official" public-health sources, they must cultivate other sources from among local physicians. While journalists must often rely on doctors in official positions with government or university, local physicians can supply background and a perspective often missing in handouts and briefings. (This is true even if, as was the case with swine flu, many doctors were just as confused as the public about the need for the program.) Most county and state medical associations encourage their members to develop relationships with the media. (But not all: The Broward County Medical Association of the Fort Lauderdale area recently adopted a code which says, in part, that doctors must clear all press contacts with the association. See *CJR* March/April.) Fortunately many farsighted doctors are recognizing that medicine must "go public" to improve its image in the press and to inform the public more fully. Reporters should seize on this willingness.

Third, editors should encourage reporters to attend seminars and conferences sponsored by the medical community at which problems in public health are discussed. If more of these seminars had been held about swine flu in advance of the fateful week in Pittsburgh, more reporters would have been aware of the many problems involved in any mass inoculation program. (Harold Schmeck of *The New York Times* said he attended a few swine flu seminars but there were only a couple of reporters present. U.P.I. in Pittsburgh received no invitations at all to background seminars on swine flu.)

Reporter Thomas O'Toole of *The Washington Post* gloomily predicted that people may "never again" accept the word of government in a matter of public health. That seems an unnecessarily pessimistic view. It is more likely that both the public and the press are still prepared to accept the word of public-health officials where lives may be at stake. But the credibility of both institutions cannot stand too many more such fiascos. ■

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In-house press critics

A selection of recent work by newspaper ombudsmen

The ombudsman has gradually found a place in the American press — not a large place, for the position demands of a newspaper a willingness to pay someone to be an irritatingly independent public critic of its own product. Still, a poll by the Associated Press Managing Editors association found fifteen such ombudspeople at work under various titles — readers' advocate, public editor, news critic — at papers ranging in size from the Port Huron Times Herald to The Washington Post. The senior ombudsman, at the Louisville Courier-Journal and Times, observes its tenth anniversary in 1977. From the published output of ombudsmen over the past year, here is a selection emphasizing comments on problems that have involved their newspapers' self-interest.

'It comes out heavily pro-press'

The ombudsman at The Sacramento Bee scrutinized, on September 29, 1976, his newspaper's coverage of the Fresno Four, who were staff members of The Fresno Bee, another McClatchy paper:

Shortly before the Fresno Superior Court released the Fresno Four — jailed early in September for fifteen days for refusing to disclose a news source in a grand-jury exposé — there came this letter from a Carmichael pharmacist, G. H. Pennebaker:

"I feel concerned about my understanding of the 'Fresno Four' situation. In many ways it boils down to a press vs. courts confrontation. I worry that I may be getting only one side of the story. In most conversations, both sides have equal opportunity to utilize the media. However, in this case such may not be true for one or both of two reasons: (1) the courts' history of not debating decisions in public and (2) the press' interest in the outcome of the case.

"My attempt to search for the real facts of the situation is not encouraged by seeing front-page calendars with Xs nor jailhouse communique. Please do not misunderstand

me. The press may be right. I just feel unable to judge using normal information sources. I firmly believe in the freedom of the press but I also have faith in the wisdom of the judicial process. More information would be helpful."

Pennebaker's was one of several inquiries which put the question: Did *The Sacramento Bee* satisfy demands of objectivity in reporting the jailing of the Fresno Four?

If it is in any way pertinent, I should stipulate my own sentiments on the jailing: I think the Fresno Four were right — indeed, they had no alternative — in refusing to disclose the source and thereby break a confidence. In

**"In only ten
of the sixteen stories...
was there
even passing mention
given to the reason
the Four
were jailed,"**

my view, the court reacted both impulsively and capriciously.

But to Pennebaker's question: Did the *Bee* report the court's side faithfully, in the detail necessary for the reader's fullest understanding? I think the *Bee* did not. The result: With others, Pennebaker felt it necessary to inquire and to say he thought more information was owed.

In the twenty-one months since the confrontation emerged out of the Fresno case — it arose out of a judge's demand that the newsmen disclose their source in publishing a grand-jury report that the judge had ordered sealed — *The Sacramento Bee* has published hundreds and hundreds of column inches on

the case. Up to the actual jailing of the Fresno Four September 3, the *Bee* looked rather good — except for one instance when the *Bee* reported the judge "vigorously defended his actions in an emotional speech from the bench," then failed to report a single quotation directly or paraphrased.

Example: For the most thorough reader understanding, the *Bee* published in May 1975 a carefully written analysis by Ronald Blubaugh, a former staff writer, of conflicting views held by the court and the press in the Fresno Four crisis — an analysis which gave full voice to the court's position as well as to the concerns of the free press in the matter.

However, the news clippings reveal no such attempt to bring about that "fuller understanding" at the time the reader interest was most acute — during the September 3-17 jailing of the Four. No special article to bring it into perspective. No recreation of the confrontation to refresh the reader on the history of both views. Moreover, in only ten of the sixteen stories the *Bee* published on the jailing over the fifteen days was there even passing mention given to the reason the Four were jailed, and these oblique references failed to go to the sense of the court's position.

The file read almost as if the *Bee* expected the reader to know the other side. With the result: Re-reading the file, it comes out heavily pro-press, and therefore pro-*Bee*.

Example: It is dangerous to try to measure fairness by the pound or by the inch, but over the fifteen days the *Bee* gave perhaps less than twelve inches to the court in sixteen news stories, against some 200 inches in the news columns over the same two weeks to the report of the Four's stay in jail. What I am trying to say is that the court's position deserved more than a vagrant inch here and there in so delicate a running story over so long a period.

Perhaps this was owed even more especially because the *Bee* gave abundantly of its editorial page columns to argue the *Bee*'s position — which could suggest that this created a special demand upon the *Bee* to stipulate the court's position clearly in the news columns. Not exclusively in the interest of fairness, although this is reason

enough, but also in the interest of greater understanding. The closest the *Bee* came to backgrounding the case during the fifteen days was on the editorial pages — and this in association with presenting the newspaper's side of the argument, not the court's.

There are several arguments for the *Bee*. I learned in conversations with editors in Sacramento and Fresno that the court's position was sought several times over the fifteen days and that the court declined comment. But none of the *Bee*'s stories report the inquiry had been made. The *Bee* at least could have told the reader: "We tried—."

Moreover, there was nothing to discourage the *Bee* from developing a background piece much on the order of its splendid effort sixteen months earlier to bring fuller understanding of the confrontation at the time of the jailing when, as was said, the reader's interest was at its greatest, the crisis in its fullest drama, and the need for the fullest understanding critical.

Comment: Some may suspect apologia in what follows but it is the other side of the story and it ought to be said, too. From my own knowledge of this newspaper, let me suggest that you hold no suspicion that a conspiracy existed to censor out the court. The *Bee* is bigger than that. To put it in its simplest terms, the question — are we telling both sides in the depth necessary for the fullest understanding? — simply was not asked.

Clearly, there was not the kind of enterprise given to this effort — or Pennebaker and the others would not have felt it necessary to inquire.

Clearly the *Bee* could have given more to the court's position in this matter, and should have.

THOR SEVERSON

With the ombudsman's column appeared an "Editor's Dissent":

The Ombudsman contends that the *Bee* did not report the court's side of the Fresno Four controversy "faithfully, in the detail necessary for the reader's fullest understanding."

I dissent from this criticism. The *Bee* reporters and editors went out of their way to present the court's point of view. In the stories on the appeals, which the *Bee* lost, the prevailing court position was stated

clearly and fully.

Before he retired, Judge Denver C. Peckinpah, who cited the four reporters for contempt, was offered an opportunity to write an article giving his view. He declined, saying he did not feel it was proper at that time.

Later a similar offer was made to Judge Hollis Best, the presiding judge, and he declined for the same reason. Now that the case has been concluded, the offer to Judge Best has been renewed and he has indicated he will write an analysis of the case from the court's point of view.

The editors and reporters handling these news stories were quite aware of the paper's

'When the action gets really close to home — when a newspaper is faced with news about itself — restraint turns to reticence'

special responsibility to cover the Fresno Four case with total objectivity. I believe they succeeded. As a matter of fact, there has been no suggestion from any representative of the court that the coverage was anything other than objective and fair.

C. K. McCLATCHY,
Editor

'A pussycat in its own backyard'

From The Washington Post, February 5, 1977:

The press, so relentless in its scrutiny of other institutions, shows remarkable restraint when the news business itself is concerned.

And when the action gets really close to home — when, for example, a newspaper is faced with news about itself — restraint turns to reticence and often to silence. The feared watchdog becomes a pussycat in its own backyard.

These comments are promoted by an article that appeared, and one that did not appear, in recent editions of *The Washington Post*.

On January 22, the *Post* reported the resignation of Larry Israel from the presidency of the Washington Post Company, which owns the *Post*, *Newsweek* magazine, four television stations, and other communications properties.

The twelve-inch story consisted mostly of prepared statements. Israel said he felt that "this is an appropriate time to shift my energies" to other interests and projects. The company said that Katharine Graham, the company's board chairman and principal owner, probably would also take over as president. And Mrs. Graham praised Israel's accomplishments and said the company respected his "desire to pursue other interests. . . ."

That was pretty barebones coverage for the surprise resignation of the president of a national leader in the communications business and a major local enterprise.

A few days later, *The New York Times* did a little better. Its story noted that Israel was the third top executive of the *Post* organization to resign since 1970 "after apparently losing the confidence of Katharine Graham." It noted that each of the departing executives, including Israel, had contracts that provided for six-figure severance payments in addition to their six-figure salaries. And it noted that Israel, who had been chiefly responsible for recent Post Company acquisitions, apparently had not been "importantly involved" in Mrs. Graham's publicized dickering for control of *New York* magazine last month.

The *Times* story was no great shakes; newspaper stories about other newspapers seldom are, unless they involve a threat from the outside, as when Rupert Murdoch, the Australian, grabbed off the *New York Post* and *New York* magazine. Nevertheless, the *Times*'s readers in New York were told more

about Israel's departure than were the *Post's* readers in Washington.

Question: Did the *Post*, by its own standards of news coverage, do an adequate job on the resignation of the president of its parent company? My answer is no.

Last Saturday and again on Monday the *Post* published a front page announcement of a price increase. Although the notice did not say so specifically, the increase amounts to a little over 20 percent for subscribers who take the paper daily and Sunday and a little over 15 percent for those who take it daily only. This is accomplished by increasing the price per billing period and by instituting what the announcement called "a new subscriber billing procedure" reducing the billing period from a month to four weeks. As a result, the increased price is paid thirteen times a year instead of twelve times.

The announcement said simply that the price boost was necessary because of "major increases" in costs, including a 33 percent rise in the cost of newsprint since the last price increase. It said that the rise "will make possible increases in earnings for carriers."

The two brief announcements were the total of the *Post's* coverage of the price increase. There was no news story going into such questions as: The announcement says increased earnings for carriers are "possible"; will they get more money and if so how much? How much will the distributors get and what does this do to their average incomes? How much goes to the company? How about some more detail on those increased costs? How will the price of the *Post* now compare with that of the *Star*?

Those questions sound strange even as I write them. But they are strange only because they are about a newspaper. Suppose another major local business with hundreds of thousands of customers — one of the big grocery chains, for example — suddenly raised prices substantially. Would the *Post* have let it get away with simply posting signs in its store windows or sending brief announcements to its customers?

I hope not. The *Post*, I assume, would go after the reasons for the move. It would talk to company executives and it would press for figures to justify the increases. It would, in short, treat the story as news.

The *Post's* performance on these two matters was by no means unusual; it was standard for the news business. As a matter of fact, the *Post* has done far better than most of the rest of the media in covering one area that traditionally is woefully undercovered by the press — its own labor problems.

When, as the *Post's* ombudsman, I sent its editors an internal memo chiding them for the slack handling of the Israel resignation story and urging that a story be done on the price increase, one editor fired back.

"I suppose," he said, "that when you were managing editor of the *Star* you ran stories when the paper raised its prices."

'Some stories have been mistakenly labeled "news analysis" while other pieces crying for it have been left unlabeled'

The answer, as he knew, is that I did not. I followed the traditional practice of letting the front office's announcement do the job. But there's nothing like becoming an ombudsman to transform an ordinary newspaperman into a born-again journalist.

CHARLES B. SEIB

News labeling: 'a ludicrous mess'

From the Louisville Times, August 19, 1976:

Truth in news packaging isn't as easily achieved as the labels on the stuff you buy at the grocery.

If it were, the noble experiment by the Louisville daily papers to alert readers to

news stories containing a reporter's conclusions or interpretations wouldn't be in such a ludicrous mess.

Seven months ago, the top brass of the dailies decided tags such as "news analysis" or "commentary" no longer would be enough. News editors were instructed to lead each such report with a paragraph giving the writer's qualifications and a clue as to the contents.

There's a ready rebuttal to those who'd snap, "There's an easier way: Tell the reporters just to give us the facts, ma'am." Journalism falls short when readers are denied a reporter's explanation of what he knows the facts mean.

So there was a sound philosophy in the notion of telling readers why a particular reporter is believed qualified to analyze, say, a political campaign or a school board action.

But philosophy put into action has produced a mixture of comedy and incongruity. Especially at *The Courier-Journal*, the only paper trying seriously to play the game:

□ Identifying paragraphs have often said a story contains a reporter's "observations and conclusions" when, as astute readers note, it's hardly possible to have any news report without such.

□ Saying that a writer is a *New York Times* correspondent who's covered Jimmy Carter doesn't give a reader much extra to lean on.

□ In the scramble to alert readers, some stories have been mistakenly labeled "news analysis" while other pieces crying for it have been left unlabeled through editors' faulty judgment or neglect.

Worst of all, editors have sometimes relaxed the gatekeeper function to the point that reporters got by with stories so opinion-loaded they didn't belong in the news columns at all, no matter how labeled.

A prime example caught by several readers was a Bicentennial-celebration story written from Valley Forge by Ed Ryan of *The Courier-Journal*.

BOYS CAPTURE MEANING OF CELEBRATION IN SONG, said the headline. Under an "analysis" label, Ryan movingly (but with gross impropriety for the news columns) told how a boys' choir caught the commemorative spirit where others failed.

"All the hoopla and hucksterism of the

Musings of an oil person...

Pretty exciting two weeks. People actually asking for our opinion. Lots of them. And after all those years of trying to get them to listen! Everywhere we go -- parties, the supermarket, on the train -- people want to know what we think about the President's energy program. Usually tell them, right or wrong, it's nice to finally have a proposed energy policy. Something we've been urging a long time. Only wish we knew more details. Like the program's heavy reliance on converting utilities and industrial energy users to coal. How much will it cost? Can industry afford it? Heavy tax for those who don't convert, starting in 1979 for industry and 1983 for utilities. Is that enough time for them to convert? And what kind of coal will they be allowed to burn? Can environmental compromises needed for such a program be reached? And, if not, can the necessary new equipment be installed in time, and will it work? So far, no word on this. No word, either, on where the coal will come from. Underground-mined eastern coal or surface-mined western? Eastern means deeper, lower-volume mines -- will there be enough miners? If it's western coal, can environmental procedures be completed in time?... I know we burn a lot of gasoline in this country. But is an escalating tax on gasoline the best way to cut fuel consumption? Maybe we should be relying on natural market forces, for a change. Will tax be fair to people who have to drive a great deal in order to make a living? How will the penalty tax on big cars affect the fellow with limited dollars and a big family to tote around?... Lots of other new taxes included in the program. Not only on gasoline and automobiles, but also on oil and natural gas for industrial and utility use, on domestic crude oil, and so on. Taxes mean higher prices. Will we be blamed again even though we don't get the money? After all, people worry about higher prices for things like gasoline and heating oil. The President talked about returning proceeds from the new taxes

to the people. Am I a cynic? Does it just seem that when a tax is imposed, less money comes out to "the people" than went in to the government?... Listened carefully, but didn't hear the President mention any plans for developing offshore oil and gas reserves in promising new areas. Would have liked to see solid recognition that conservation alone isn't going to solve our energy problems. Seems as though a provision for the rapid development of our domestic oil and gas ought to be part of a national energy policy, particularly if there are problems getting coal out on time.... Did hear him loud and clear, though, when he said the 1979 decontrol of domestic crude oil prices -- called for under existing law -- wouldn't happen. Wonder whether the natural gas price deregulation he promised during the election campaign will ever occur? Where does that leave us? He said companies should be able to plan in a climate of certainty. Well, we're spending a lot of money in the search for oil and gas, and now it seems the rules are being changed in the middle of the game again.... We're probably paranoid after all these years, but the comment about not enough competition in the oil industry seemed uncalled for. So did proposal for new reporting procedures. Is the government going to impose the same accounting requirements on other vertically integrated industries? Or did the President really tell us to be good, and maybe we wouldn't be divested?... Really did like, though, the President's call for "the moral equivalent of war" to resolve America's energy problems. That's our kind of talk! Can remember how everybody pulled together during World War II. There was nothing this country couldn't do back then. Build a ship a week. Turn out more of everything we needed to win than anybody thought was possible. Sure it meant sacrifices. But we shared them equally. And we got the job done. Only hope the sacrifices we need to cope with our energy problems will be shared just as fairly.

The Mobil logo, featuring the word "Mobil" in a bold, italicized, sans-serif font. The letter "M" is larger than the other letters.

over-sold bicentennial celebration" were in evidence, Ryan wrote. What the boys did was "better" than three clergymen with their prayers. It was also a "painful contrast to the six ominous-looking Marine helicopters that brought President Ford and his party to the site the way they used to take soldiers to the Vietnam jungle."

The paragraph that was supposed to tell Ryan's qualifications for this exercise said, "Ed Ryan, chief political writer for *The Courier-Journal*, is in Pennsylvania for the National Governors' conference. This article contains his observations on the Valley Forge ceremony."

It was more an editor's bobble than it was Ryan's.

Error in the direction of excessive caution was the case last week, also with Ryan involved. A news-analysis label and the little legend about Ryan's being in New York were slapped on a straightforward story in which Ryan interviewed a Democratic convention delegate from Kentucky who used to inspect Carter Peanuts.

Indeed, convention coverage invited the inconsistencies inherent in the news-label policy.

An analysis label and identification of a *New York Times* writer properly accompanied an explanation of the Carter triumph that began, "Jimmy Carter was the right general for this war at this time in this place." But no label was on the same reporter's main convention story in which he wrote subjectively that California's Edmund Brown Jr. "seemed reconciled to the failure of his own campaign."

Do readers value labels and reporter qualifiers as a price for interpretive news? Do they just get in the way? You tell me. The managing editor of *The New York Times* says stiffly, "We do not identify our staffers when they do news analysis because we assume that the reader knows who they are or accepts their credentials as staffers."

Concern is better. There is much to be said for identifying authors of reports containing analysis. But not when used as a clumsy, feeble way to justify reporter opinion. Strong editing should filter that out.

Barry Bingham, Jr., editor-publisher of the Louisville dailies, thinks the expanded labeling policy has simply been poorly administered and occasionally misused. He says he'll crack down when he gets incensed.

It's that time.

BOB SCHULMAN

Mitigating *fulsome piosity*

From *The Washington Star*, September 13, 1976:

"What in the hell," wrote a gentle reader last week, "does the word *piosity* mean? I wish to hell you people would stop using words that are not in the ordinary dictionary. Why in the hell do you have to try to show off!?"

The word had appeared in a *Star* editorial headline: "Piosity in politics." And assured by a check of three ordinary dictionaries (Webster, Random House, Oxford) that indeed no such word existed, I sent the com-

don't much care for pomposity, either. They think most editors, *The Star's* included, don't pay enough attention to these things. They tend, in their letters to the editor and their communications to this desk, to blame most of them on carelessness or sloppy editing. And most of the time they are right.

What follows is by no means a definitive list of abuses. But each is a complaint recently received, and as a whole they represent, I think, the kinds of things that irritate readers most in the wonderful world of words.

One reader last week complained that a *Star* news story, involving a prominent Washingtonian, referred to "dinner parties given by he and his wife . . ." It's a case of the wrong pronoun that occurs frequently, and there is no excuse for it.

In the wrong-word category, another reader cites a political writer's observation that a certain circumstance *mitigates* against a certain politician's chances. The use of *mitigate* when the word is *militate*, says *Fowler's Modern English Usage*, is "a curiously common malapropism." But maybe not so curious, really. The problem, it seems to me, is that the two words sound similar — and no one bothers to check. It is for the same reason, I suspect, that *fortuitous* keeps turning up in the news columns when the intended meaning is *fortunate*.

Fulsome, too. It doesn't mean bountiful, but you would never know it, a Wheaton reader recently observed, "from reading the papers."

Another letter the other day chided a *Star* editorialist for describing some of the controversial gifts given F.B.I. Director Clarence Kelley as "intrabureau lagniappe." No Louisianian, says reader John Gonella, "would have been guilty of the inaccurate use of the delightful Cajun word, *lagnippe*." Look it up.

Frequent misuses of *fewer* and *less* seldom slip by readers. Nor, in the summery days of the tall ships, did this classic "Ear" item: "When the Esmeralda, Chile's tall ship, *hoves* to in Baltimore Harbor this weekend . . ."

The complaints, to be sure, aren't always justified — or at least easily avoided. Two readers last week, for example, spotted in the same story a *there* which came out *their* and a *who's* which became *whose*. "You need a copy reader," said one of the letters.

But the editor responsible says that piece was a late starter that barely squeaked under

plaint to the Editorial Department with a question mark, and a smile.

Well, in less time than a smile takes to fade, a very ordinary fourth dictionary (American Heritage) bounced back, and sure enough on page 997, there it was: "Piosity . . . Ostentatious piouness." A clear score for the editorial wordsmiths? Hardly. A draw? At best, surely. Nor, in fact, were the scales tipped any further against the reader by a subsequent editorial's remarkable suggestion last Thursday that if *piosity* isn't universally recognized by respected authorities it ought to be, because, well, it is such a grand word. Whew!

Whatever *piosity*'s fate, though, the episode raises a point eminently worth discussing: Newspaper readers care about the English language; they care intensely. They wince at typographical errors. They shrink from misspellings. They dislike the wrong word and detest the ungrammatical construction. *Piosity* notwithstanding, they

the deadline. "It was a case," he said, "of making the paper with those silly errors or missing the story entirely — and it's a bloody marvel, given our deadline pressures, that we or any other afternoon newspaper make as few mistakes as we do. Readers don't know about those things."

He's right, of course. There are such situations. Largely as the result of technological changes in the newsroom, furthermore, I think today's *Star* is infinitely cleaner typographically than it was in past years.

But I certainly wouldn't venture that defense for all the sins of commission and omission that occur. Too many abuses of the language do result, purely and simply, from sloppy copy editing. And the reader, in fact, isn't obliged to speculate about the reasons for egregious errors. The reader's right is to complain when errors occur; the editor's responsibility is to work harder to avoid them.

The most recent word complaints addressed to me, and certainly the most painful, came from J. James Kearney of Kensington, Md., and Mildred Henninger, of Washington, in the midst of my struggles with this piece. They made the same point.

"This is not," Kearney wrote, "a complaint against the *Star*, but against you." In a column last week, he said, I had twice erred in saying that a misleading headline improperly had inferred something or other. Said Kearney: "The headline *implies*; the reader *infers*."

Always. And there is no way on earth, unfortunately, I can lay that one on deadline pressures or a careless copy editor.

GEORGE BEVERIDGE

Part of the public's right to know?

From the "News Beat" column, The Boston Globe, February 12, 1977:

Being as nosy about the affairs of public officials as the next newsman, I probably should be fascinated by the media coverage of former Boston Police Commissioner Robert J. diGrazia's marital problems. And yet there is something faintly troublesome about it all.

Both the *Globe* and the *Herald* have reported each step of the separation proceedings with something akin to bated breath. Information about the private lives of public officials, of course, is always titillating. The

problem is knowing when it's relevant.

In diGrazia's case, it is more than likely that his abrupt departure from Boston was tied to his failing marriage. That in itself merits coverage of the story. But there can be little pleasure in reporting the personal details of a private relationship of this sort. Particularly when the reporting may be painfully embarrassing to the other party in the marriage, who is dragged into the public limelight willy-nilly.

The initial diGrazia news item, appearing in the *Globe* on December 1, 1976, was innocuous enough. A four-paragraph story on page 5 stated that diGrazia and his wife were "reportedly separated" and noted that the

'With all the suspense of a soap opera, the press followed this husband-and-wife entanglement to the end'

two were seeking an "amicable settlement."

Scooped by this earth-shattering news development, the *Herald American* produced a much larger story about the troubled diGrazia marriage the next day, leading with the fact that diGrazia felt the situation was a personal matter and that he "would not discuss [it] now or in the future."

Personal or not, the *Herald* dug deeper into the story and revealed to its readers the fact that the last time Mrs. diGrazia and he had been seen together in public, she had "appeared drab beside him."

"Observers said she wore the same dress to many public occasions she attended with him," the *Herald* offered in explanation.

On December 7, the news was deemed important enough for page one of the *Evening Globe*. A four-column headline announced the new development, "Mrs. diGrazia: She doesn't want divorce."

Reached in Maryland by telephone for com-

ment, diGrazia held to the belief that his marital problems were between him, his wife, and their lawyers. "I am a public official," he was quoted in the *Globe* story, "but this is a private matter and I have no comment."

In fact, however, there was nothing private about it. Mrs. diGrazia's anguish was laid bare in another *Herald* story. "My husband and his lawyer have seen fit to publicize our situation to humiliate me," she was quoted. "I must make clear just what has happened. . . ." The article proceeded to give her side of the domestic situation at length.

Shortly thereafter, diGrazia apparently resigned himself to the idea of conducting his marital affairs through the media and disclosed, in a newspaper interview, the details of a financial arrangement that Mrs. diGrazia had rejected.

And so, with all the suspense of a soap opera, the press followed this husband-and-wife entanglement to the end, when the court granted Mrs. diGrazia a legal separation and ordered diGrazia to pay her \$300 a week for support.

Marital difficulties are "stories" that come up in newsrooms all the time, and they present a problem of treatment.

What are the circumstances that make them newsworthy? When does the rumor of such a situation become a legitimate news item? Are all aspects of a public official's private life fair game, or does this kind of reporting occasionally cross the line into invasion of privacy?

If public officials represent themselves as paragons of morality and get elected on that basis — when, in fact, it is clear their private lives reflect something quite different — this is information the public has a right to know.

On the other hand, marital problems may be a personal tragedy that reflects no such thing. Should newspapers handle both "stories" the same way?

For some newspapers, the answer seems to be yes. Some even extend the principle to the cases of private individuals. The *Herald American*, for example, recently ran a five-column story on page two concerning the divorce proceedings of Jack Satter, a local businessman, and his wife. Are the details of their dissolving relationship part of the public's right to know?

Maybe so, but marriages are a very private matter — and many of them should remain that way.

TIMOTHY LELAND

WORKING

The revised F.O.I. Law and how to use it

by S. J. ARCHIBALD

Most government secrecy is imposed to cover up dishonest actions by officeholders, to protect national security, or because of simple bureaucratic stupidity. Right?

Wrong. Despite the conventional wisdom disseminated by many leaders in the fight for freedom of information, the correct answer is: none of the above.

Most government secrecy hides routine records. Government technicians, bureaucrats, and administrators honestly believe they can do a more effective, efficient job of running the government without the help of press or public.

They may be right, but efficient or effective government was not the goal of those who started the congressional investigation that resulted in the nation's first freedom-of-information law. Representatives John Moss and Dante Fascell, editors James Pope and Russell Wiggins, legal scholars Harold Cross and Jacob Scher had the same goal as their predecessors, who wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution — public participation in government.

To achieve this goal, the F.O.I. leaders and their troops developed a public-relations program to convince the press, the public, and Congress that there was too much government secrecy and that there ought to be a law. The program emphasized government

S. J. Archibald, now an assistant professor of journalism at the University of Colorado, directed the House investigation that produced the 1966 federal Freedom of Information Act and also directed the Library of Congress study that was the basis for the 1974 amendments.

cover-ups, silly military secrecy, and bureaucratic stupidity; the law that evolved from this public-relations program devised a system for tearing down the paper curtain hiding the routine actions of government.

The law finally passed by the Congress, and signed by the president on July 4, 1966, was not clear, concise, or well-written. For political or legislative reasons there were many cloudy legal phrases, and the federal bureaucracy interpreted these in ways that often created even more restrictions on access.

The federal Freedom of Information Law states, in general, that any person — not even any citizen but any person — has the right of access to public records of the executive branch of the federal government. It does not define the term "public records." The law does not apply to the Congress or the courts; for political reasons, Congress did not apply the F.O.I. Law to itself and, for jurisdictional reasons, it did not apply the law to the courts. The executive branch, however, controls most government records, and it spends nearly all the money Congress appropriates to run the government.

The 1966 law, which became Section 552 of Title 5 of the United States Code, states that any person who is refused access to a public record may go to court. There are nine categories of records that government agencies do not have to disclose, but if they decide to hide behind any of the categories and are taken to court, the burden of proof that secrecy is necessary is on the agencies.

After the federal Freedom of Information Law had been in operation for about five years, a move to improve it was started by the press and the Congress — the same groups that had pushed through the original law. They were backed by new F.O.I. supporters — labor organizations, civil-liberties

groups, and public-interest groups. In 1974 Congress adopted amendments to the 1966 law and President Ford vetoed them. However, Congress passed the amendments over the veto, and they became law in February 1975.

Two important changes affect the nine categories of public records a government agency may withhold. A federal judge now may apply an independent judgment to Pentagon decisions on what information should be withheld to protect national defense and foreign policy. And investigative files can no longer be withheld if they are not needed for law-enforcement purposes.

The other seven categories of public records which may — not must — be withheld are those that are:

- exempted from disclosure by other statutes;
- related solely to internal personnel rules of an agency;
- trade secrets that are privileged or confidential;
- intra-agency memos or letters;
- personnel or medical files which, if disclosed, would be a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- related to financial institutions;
- related to oil or gas wells.

Obviously, some of the possibly exempt categories protect special interests. Other categories are so broad they can cover a multitude of bureaucratic sins. However, the application of the nine exemptions has been narrowed drastically by court interpretation and by precedents set by aggressive citizens or insistent reporters. The 1974 amendments offer further help to those seeking information, for they require:

- an answer within ten days to the original request for a public record and an answer within twenty days if the request is refused and an appeal is filed;

- a minimum charge for searching and copying public records and no charge at all if the information would primarily benefit the general public, such as a news story;
- a reasonable description, instead of a detailed description, of the public records sought;
- the separation of records in a government file so that all the material in a file folder or file drawer cannot be withheld if only part of it requires secrecy;
- government payment of court costs and attorney fees, if a court so decides when the government loses a secrecy case.

One of the 1974 amendments is a historic first step. For the first time a federal employee might be punished for hiding information. While early investigators of government secrecy found dozens of laws and regulations to prohibit disclosure of information and to punish those who were caught violating government secrecy, they found no law, no regulation, to provide a balancing sanction against excessive secrecy. To help fill the gap, Congress adopted the "Ralph Nader Memorial Amendment" to the Freedom of Information Law, developed by Nader and pushed through by Senator Edward M. Kennedy. It permits courts to direct the Civil Service Commission to order punishment — possibly a reprimand or pay cut — for any employee who arbitrarily and capriciously withholds information. It may be a weak penalty but it is one of the reasons President Ford tried to kill the F.O.I. amendments.

How to use the federal law

Although there is no official title attached to the federal law, it is called by friend and foe alike the Freedom of Information Law. Which it isn't. It is a federal public-records law. It does not

[Name of official

Title

Address

City, state, zip]

Dear _____

Under the provisions of 5 U.S.C. 552, I am requesting access to [identify the records as clearly and specifically as possible].

If there are any fees for searching for, or copying, the records I have requested, please inform me before you fill the request. [Or: . . . please supply the records without informing me if the fees do not exceed \$_____]

If all or any part of this request is denied, please cite the specific law or regulation for the denial, and inform me of the appeal procedures available to me under the law.

I would appreciate your handling this request as quickly as you can, and I look forward to hearing from you within ten days, as the law stipulates.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Name

Address

City, state, zip]

Sample letter requesting access to records

WORKING

require any official to divulge information in a general sense. A reporter who asks a question cannot expect the law to help get the answer. The law does not, for example, grant the reporter the right to an interview.

However, if the information is *on record* — a document, a tape recording, a computer printout or any other form yet to be devised — the federal Freedom of Information Law can help pry out government facts. Here's how:

- Find out which federal agencies are responsible for handling problems in your area of interest. The *United States Government Manual* lists all federal agencies, explains what they are supposed to do, and usually lists local and regional office addresses and telephone numbers. The *Manual* is on file in almost all libraries.
- Find out who is responsible for running the local program in the federal agency which probably has the records you want. In most states there are local federal offices, and they are listed in the white and the yellow pages of the telephone books of the major cities in the state. An additional information source is a regional federal telephone book listing federal agencies operating in each area. The organizational section includes the names of policy-level employees and their titles and is a marvelous source to find out who does what, and with which, and to whom.

(This valuable tool was not itself generally available under the Freedom of Information Law until recently. The General Services Administration, which prints the regional federal telephone books, had a regulation stating that "these directories are not intended for public distribution." When a professor at the University of Colorado School of Journalism tried to get one of the regional telephone books and was rebuffed, he filed a complaint under the F.O.I. Law. With the help of a U.S. senator, a member of the House of Representatives, and a lot of news stories ridiculing the G.S.A., he got the regulation changed to state that the telephone books are now available at cost.)

- Telephone the local or regional federal official you have fingered to get

background information about the problem that interests you. It may take more than one call and more than one conversation to zero in on what kind of public records might be kept — audit reports, inspection reports, policy guidelines. Get as much identification as possible of the records you may wish to request. If you can't find the proper federal official locally, or if the one you have found won't help, call a public-information officer — at least, do so in any area near a federal regional headquarters office. Most regional federal offices have information officers, and most of them are on your side, more or less.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, for instance, has used the F.O.I. Law to build up its public-information activities. The H.E.W. information experts at regional offices are directed to help the press and public get access to records, and even when they can't help, they explain how to use the F.O.I. Law. Information officers at other federal agencies may be less helpful, but the possibility that they can provide some information and guidance is worth a telephone call.

- When you have a pretty good idea of what federal public record you want and suspect which federal agency has the record, write a letter. It should be directed to the head of the agency — the secretary of defense, the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, the director of the Internal Revenue Service — whose title and address can be found in the *U.S. Government Manual*. Of course, if your telephone calls have uncovered the official directly responsible for the record you want, write to that official.

The letter should describe generally the type of public record you want and should state that the request is made under the Freedom of Information Law (5 U.S.C. 552). You do not need to justify your request for a public record, but it might be a good idea to explain briefly your need to know the information. It might be a general need ("This is my government as well as yours, damn it, and the law and the Constitution give me the right to participate.") or it might be

a specific need ("There is a great local interest in the water-development plans and, as an editor, I intend to give all possible information to my readers").

The letter should be sent by certified mail, return receipt requested; thus the bureaucrats will know that you know when their ten days to answer have run out. If you don't get an answer in ten days, telephone whomever you wrote and ask about your request; there is a good chance that an answer is in the mail.

- If your request for public records is rejected, file an appeal with the head of the government agency. This is important, for often the agency head will overrule lower-level employees. Include a copy of the rejection letter, and make a strong argument for your right to know.
- If your appeal is rejected and you really want the public record, go to court. Sure, it is expensive and time-consuming, but if right and virtue are on your side — if the principle of an informed public is important to you and the public record you seek would help inform the public — there is every chance the courts will rule in your favor and also will order the government to pay your legal fees and court costs.

If you have a good case, it is likely that you will win without going to court. Under an unwritten procedure, government agencies must convince the Justice Department it will win an F.O.I. argument before the department will take the case to court. Many documents are made public when an agency learns that the government's legal experts will not back up the agency's secrecy.

- Finally — publicize your problem. If you are a journalist, write stories every step of the way about your attempt to break the government secrecy barrier. More secrets have been broken loose by publicity than by litigation. And keep careful records of your case — copies of letters, stories, notes. When it is all over, win or lose, file a complete report of your experience with your professional organizations and with the Freedom of Information Center at the University of Missouri School of Journalism. These reports may not do you any good, but they will help the next reporter to find what he needs.

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FILMS

The underground middle class

Between the Lines

directed by Joan Micklin Silver,
produced by Raphael D. Silver,
101 minutes

Between the Lines, Joan Micklin Silver's first feature film since *Hester Street*, is a loving look back at an era that, it must be conceded, is now past — the brief heyday of the raging, ragtag, somewhat "underground," very "alternative" newspaper. And, on that level, *Between the Lines* certainly works. It is a cute, charming seriocomedy for these mellowed-out, laidback seventies, dealing with characters and themes from The Late Great Counterculture in a way that is refreshingly unpretentious and three-dimensional. It is not, and probably was not intended to be, and certainly should not be viewed as being, any kind of statement about journalism.

Given those parameters — that this is not the *All the President's Men* of the New Journalism we are watching, but more like its *Paper Chase* — this film is fun. And it is not without a message of its own, one that lies, appropriately enough, between the lines of Fred Barron's screenplay — that the young writers who came into premature power and prominence at the end of the last decade have turned overripe in the middle of this one, with nothing left to say at the grand old age of thirty, and nothing more to do than repeat what they were doing "back in '70" (as two of the characters in this film reminisce to each other), or be bought up by, and assimilated right back into, the very culture they were supposed to be "countering" in the first place.

This, then, is a film about journalists, not journalism, and journalists used as stock characters and vehicles for melo-

drama at that. It portrays not the beginning of a new newspaper, but the death of one, and life on it just before the end. The plot is standard picaresque, tracing the protagonists through the gamut of predictable situations until the *denouement* of their disbanding, as they cop out or quit or get fired. Along the way they fight, make love, and get high (using, in all but one instance, alcohol to do so), and because writing is performe such a solitary and silent and therefore uncinematic act, they talk about their writing with each other. (Though we see the actors typing from time to time, we never see, or even hear read aloud, what it is they have been typing, much less get a closeup of what the *Back Bay Mainline* actually looks like.)

They are all there — the jaded, hot-shot sixties muckraker (John Heard); the aspiring photographer with career-woman ambitions and a proclivity for one-night stands (Lindsay Crouse); the affected, pompous horse's ass (Stephen Collins), who bores all within earshot with his nonstop primping about agents and advances and "going to New York"; his passive, totally dependent girlfriend (Gwen Welles); the winsome, parasitic rock critic (engagingly played by Jeff Goldblum); the defenseless dedicated office factotum (Jill Eikenberry); the awkward, born-too-late beginner (Bruno Kirby); and, not least, the anal, repulsive advertising manager; the bratty publisher who sells their paper out from under them; and the crusading-but-careerist editor who, on Day One of the tenure of their new, capitalist ogre-owner, obediently agrees to fire his best writer — without sacrificing his own job on principle, and idealistically rationalizing his action. ("I could've thrown in my own job, too, Harry, but I didn't think you'd want that.")

That act of cravenness is the climax of the film, and, as events of this decade in journalism have made all too clear, it is

straight out of real life. Significantly, of the papers thanked at the end of the movie for their help and advice, three, the *Real Paper*, *The Boston Phoenix*, and the *Los Angeles Free Press*, have all been the objects of such outside takeovers. A fourth, *The Village Voice*, was not only gobbled up and taken over (by Clay Felker, in 1974), but its invader, *New York*, was, in turn gobbled up and taken over, the *Voice* along with it (by Rupert Murdoch, in 1977). And each time it happened, there were those who reacted, as the loyal office worker does here when she tearfully quits, "Boy, we sure stick together around here, don't we?", as if, because they had all declared themselves to be idealistic and revolutionary in the beginning, they were somehow not going to act like careerists and pragmatists and middle-class kids in the end.

Because, of course, they were middle-class kids and had been all along: the kind of middle-class kids who can afford, like the rock critic in this movie, to work for \$75 a week and sponge off other people and wear one jumpsuit at all times and still own a car, or who, as the others in this film do, live the life-style of Cambridge-pad voluntary poverty. And the life-style and the hedonism and the consumerism that generated the advertising that kept their papers in business were middle-class too, and no less "capitalist" than the mores of the individuals who eventually took them over.

In the end, the "alternatives," the "undergrounds," and the "countercultures" went one of three ways — they went out of business, or became successful enough to be bought up by some "establishment" outsider, or they stayed independent under entrepreneurs like Jann Wenner of *Rolling Stone*, who learned how to out-plutocrat the plutocrats. And that is why, at the end of this

film, when the rock critic announces he is off to write a novel about "corruption, alienation, the loss of innocence," and then smiles and admits he doesn't mean it, he wins us over, because he, at least, lives without pretensions.

One of the finer young rock poets of today has a line: "I believe I've passed the age/of consciousness and righteous rage/I found that just surviving was a noble fight." *Between the Lines* is a movie about young people, stand-ins for an entire generation, who tried to maintain their Bostonian bliss too long, and so did not survive.

KEVIN McAULIFFE

Kevin McAuliffe is completing a book on The Village Voice.

Using private lives

Six American Families

produced by Group W, Westinghouse Broadcasting Corporation, the United Church of Christ, and the United Methodist Church. Written and reported by Paul Wilkes

Six American Families

by Paul Wilkes. Seabury/Parthenon Press. 149 pp. \$1.95 (paperback)

Makers of television documentaries seem to be turning more often to the private lives of ordinary people. *Six American Families*, broadcast during April and May by PBS and Group W television stations, is one of the more ambitious and successful of such efforts.

Paul Wilkes, author of *Trying Out the Dream: A Year in the Life of an American Family*, was reporter and writer for the series. His small book commenting on the families, and on the making of the six one-hour films, provides an unusual look at the attitudes of one such filmmaker, and at the procedures used in finding and filming the subjects. Both the films and the book raise questions about the value of such documentaries, and the possible cost to those who agree to be filmed.

What was the purpose of the series? Wilkes argues that it should lead both audience and the six families to learn more about themselves. Given the churchly backing the series received, this safe common ground between the



The Greenbergs of California

The Burk family of Georgia

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religious and the secular must have looked attractive. But Wilkes sounds almost aggressive about his hopes for the self-improvement of the families he filmed. "We wanted our families to become more conscious of themselves and how they lived," he writes.

A key objective was to have them look at the ethical issues that underlie the decisions they made in everyday life. We thought that with this type of "instant replay" they, and the audience through them, could more squarely look at their lives, in fact look at them in a new, considered way. People often complain that their lives are out of their control; that they are results rather than causes. We wanted families to see how much control they actually had.

This sounds a bit like consciousness-raising by film crew.

For whatever reasons, the families' less attractive qualities are often striking. The young son of the affluent California couple is shown to be obsessed by money and material possessions; he remarks on it himself during the "reaction" segment that followed each film. (The families were offered the chance to comment on camera about the film that had been made of them.) The poor white family in Georgia is shown to practice violence as a way of life: Even their small children are taught hitting as a form of play. The brilliant engineer who works with nuclear bombs, and whose retarded son has led him to dedicate much of his time to helping the retarded, seems radiantly smug about his accomplishments and his sense of dedication. His teenaged daughter languishes in the shadow of his excellence; he seems unaware that to her his serene confidence in himself has become a form of repression.

One important aspect of his work that Wilkes fails to discuss is the power of documentaries. For the six shows were extremely powerful. People I know who watched them were affected by them, as they were meant to be. They felt sympathy, or pity, or anger. Sometimes they were appalled. They too judged the people they watched, sometimes unfavorably. On this level audience reaction becomes something close to gossip ("Wasn't she



The George family of New York City

awful?" "Didn't you feel sorry for the kids?"), and the appeal of such programs is much like the appeal that fiction used to have: the illusion of being an invisible witness to private lives.

An important and troublesome question raised by such documentaries is how much exploitation filmmakers should allow themselves. If Wilkes and his staff had been overly blunt with the families, warning them beforehand about how they might be made to appear, they could have scared them off, or at least worried them into stiffness before the cameras. Wilkes and his colleagues seem in fact to have been more sensitive than many — although, as filmmakers surely know better than most people, showing sensitivity can be just another way to get what you want. Wilkes writes:

Each viewer probably wonders how ordinary people not professionally trained can be at ease in front of a camera. I can only testify that they are. After a while, people have to show their true selves, they can't keep up a facade, if they have one. But, just as important, we made our approach to the families and our treatment of them as gentle, assuring, honest as we could and, quite simply, they began to trust us. The camera became their friend, a presence; it was interested in everything they did. At times it even became

a confessional, a therapist. It never judged; it just took in.

The camera may not have judged, but the person behind the camera did — and the editors who cut the filming of each family to approximately fifty minutes did plenty of judging.

Do documentary filmmakers feel obliged to warn people who agree to share their personal lives with millions of their fellow citizens of the dangers of such sharing? If Wilkes and his colleagues did so, it is not mentioned specifically in his book. He writes only that they talked to prospective families "about what we hoped the series would do and what would be required of the family selected."

Doctors generally are required to inform patients of the risks of medical procedures while seeking the patients' permission to perform them. The principle is known as informed consent. Perhaps filmmakers who seek permission to perform their artistic procedures on ordinary people, who are likely to be unaware of all the risks and consequences, ought to consider forming their own principles of informed consent, even if it makes the practice of their art more difficult — which it would.

R.C.S.

BOOKS

Life at Life

That Was the Life

by Dora Jane Hamblin. W. W. Norton & Company. 320 pp. \$10

This lively and amusing collection of vignettes and anecdotes about what it was like to work for *Life* magazine, written by a former staffer, aims frankly at entertainment. Hamblin's snapshots of life at *Life*, from its palmy days in the early 1950s until it ceased regular publication in 1972, most often record the magazine's photographers and reporters at their zaniest or most enterprising. She has no interest in analyzing the effects of modern journalism on its subjects and victims, but it is hard not to notice, in her accounts of *Life*'s renowned flocks of photojournalists descending on stories, that *Lifers* in their heyday could be powerful shapers of events, not merely recorders of them; their impact on the news was similar to that of television crews today.

There are dozens of photographs in the book, all of them welcome despite their smallness — another reminder that the folio-sized *Life* was in many ways the answer to a photographer's dreams.

R.C.S.

How novel was the new journalism?

Fact & Fiction: The New Journalism and the Nonfiction Novel

by John Hollowell. The University of North Carolina Press. 190 pp. \$11.95

Early in his account of the "new journalism" and the "nonfictional novel," John Hollowell quotes a sound admonition from Tom Wolfe: "a movement, group, party, . . . philosophy or theory with 'New' in it, is just begging for trouble." Acting on that assumption, he

has written a chary and somewhat defensive book even though to this reader his claims for the originality and significance of fictive journalism or journalistic fiction are excessive. All the same, he usefully defines and characterizes a literary genre or vogue that in his opinion has added a new dimension to contemporary writing.

The "new" or "higher" journalism, his argument runs, flowered during the apocalyptic sixties, when everyday happenings, political and cultural, outdistanced the wildest imaginings of novelists. New forms and styles of writing were required to keep pace with the bizarre and outrageous events and to compete with mass media better attuned to the "new phenomena" than was either bread-and-butter journalism or the traditional novel. In choosing the documentary form to capture kaleidoscopic America, writers like Capote, Mailer, and Wolfe (Hollowell's principal models) dramatized the moral dilemmas of the times and converted history into art. They did so, he maintains, by concocting a blend of autobiography, journalism, and fiction in which dialogue, anecdote, internal monologue, film techniques, etc. artfully combined to provide an in-depth experience of the event. The author-reporter became the protagonist of, and above all a participant in, the actions described.

How new was this "newness"? Hollowell briefly reviews the considerable literature that discounts the alleged originality of the new journalism. He concedes "a strong resemblance" to it in the sketches of Mark Twain, Stephen Crane, and Dreiser, in muckraking journalism, in Hemingway, in the reportage of the thirties, and in some *New Yorker* articles, but he insists that the new journalists used "fictional techniques in more complex and sophisticated ways than did their predecessors." Yet it would not be hard to find many if not all

of the hallmarks of the new journalism in such examples of thirties reportage as Edmund Wilson's *The American Jitters*, in which a collapsing society is seen through the eyes of a deeply engaged observer. Wilson, no less than Wolfe, Talese, or Mailer, employs conversation, anecdote, meditation; he also resorts to what Hollowell describes as "novelistic techniques in order to provide greater psychological depth and to portray dramatically important social issues." Was it really the literary "techniques" that had changed so much by the 1960s? Or was the difference that subjects and approaches chosen by the "new journalists" reflected neither the mood of violence and despair of the Great Depression, nor that decade's sense of moral outrage, but reflected instead the oddities of subcultures and idiosyncratic impressions of social nightmare?

Hollowell's chapters on Capote, Mailer, and Wolfe competently and sometimes perceptively summarize their journalistic fictions, though one might question his prediction that future historians will find the sixties, when the new journalism reached its apogee, to have been "part of a fundamental watershed in human consciousness."

He includes a first-rate bibliography.

DANIEL AARON

Daniel Aaron is a professor of English and the director of the Graduate Program in American Civilization at Harvard.

Good Evening Everybody: From Cripple Creek to Samarkand

by Lowell Thomas. William Morrow and Company, Inc. 349 pp. \$12.50

Thomas's autobiography is shapeless, anecdotal, not very informative about the man or his times, and (surprisingly) neither entertaining nor interesting. He touches on many of the adventures he has experienced and many of the adventurers he has known, but seems unable to bring them to life. Thomas was a notable and important figure in the journalism of not too long ago; this book makes him seem to be little more than a name dropper.

D.J.L.



Pioneer

Photojournalist: The Career of Jimmy Hare
by Lewis L. Gould and Richard Greffe.
University of Texas Press, 157 pp. \$12.95

English-born Jimmy Hare's long American career spanned the period from hardwood cameras and wet plates to the Speed Graphic. Although it is a good bet that he never heard the term "photojournalist," he was one, pioneering in a kind of pictorial reporting for *Collier's* and other periodicals that prefigured the photojournalism of *Life*. Although he was the subject of an authorized biography in 1940, six years before his death, this new appreciation of his audacity (he was something of a war-chaser) and quality is the first to draw on the files of his life's work, now stored at the Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas. Besides an essay that illuminates both Hare's career and the dawn of magazine photojournalism, the book contains more than a hundred handsomely printed photographs, concentrated in the period from the Spanish-American War through World War I.

J.B.





*Clockwise from upper left:
Jimmy Hare; street fighting in
Juarez, Mexico; Lusitania
coffins at Queenstown Harbor,
Ireland; news photographers
covering a dynamite explosion
at Communipaw, New Jersey;
taking a bath during the
Russo-Japanese War*

CHRONICLE

INNOVATIONS

The Asia Mail

Monthly since October 1976; Edward Neilan, editor; published by Potomac-Asia Communications, Inc., 128 South Royal Street, Alexandria, Va. 22314; controlled circulation; \$11 a year by subscription. Tabloid (twenty-eight pages in May 1977) with articles, reviews, and analyses, edited by a former Asia correspondent for the Copley News Service, aided by a board of consulting editors headed by A. Doak Barnett of The Brookings Institution. Claimed initial circulation: 30,000.

Nuestro (Ours)

Monthly from April 1977; Charles R. Rivera, editor in chief; Daniel M. Lopez, publisher; 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10036; \$1 a copy. Largely English-language magazine directed at Spanish-surnamed population estimated at 12 million, with distribution concentrated in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, and the Southwest. Initial print run: 200,000.

Us

Biweekly from the issue of May 3, 1977; William H. Davis, editor and publisher; published by The Family Circle, Inc. (a subsidiary of The New York Times Company), 488 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022; 50 cents an issue, \$13 a year. Preliminary publicity said: "Not only is US MAGAZINE the first publication to be created right from the start at the New York Times in its 124-year-old history [126 — Ed.], but what has media watchers clucking is the kind of magazine, certain to put some bright colors in the usual austere, gray veneer associated with that venerable publication." Contrary to publicity, the second issue (May 17) had no editorial color except on the cover. It contained sixty-seven inside editorial pages, with twenty-five features; the longest (six pages) was the cover story on Princess Grace of Monaco; the rest were one to four pages long — among them items on Kim Novak, female editors of skin magazines, Frankie Valli, and Farrah Fawcett-Majors. Promotion advertising

claimed an initial circulation of 750,000, largely on single-copy sales at newsstands and supermarkets. A letter printed in the issue said: "At last — a magazine that recognizes that there's more to life than celebrities!"

TRANSACTIONS

The Long Island Press

David Starr, editor; S.I. Newhouse, publisher; afternoon daily founded in Jamaica, Queens, in 1821 as the weekly *Long Island Farmer*; owned by Newhouse since 1932; reached a circulation peak of 443,000 in 1970, off to 257,000 in 1976; closed on March 25, 1977. Terminal statement blamed declining circulation, rising costs, and union featherbedding, the last being denied by the unions. About 600 employees, including more than a hundred on the news side, lost jobs. The Mobil Corporation looked briefly into reviving the *Press*, but announced April 19 it had found the project unfeasible. A Three Sigma (Simmons) readership study made public April 21 showed that 69 percent of the *Press*'s readers had read other local dailies.

WMAL-TV

Channel 7 in Washington, sold for \$65 million in stock and a swap of KOCO-TV, Oklahoma City, a combined value of up to \$100 million, a record for a single-station sale, to Combined Communications Corporation of Phoenix, owner of broadcasting properties in eight states, outdoor advertising concerns, *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, and prospectively *The Oakland Tribune* (see below). The seller was Evening Star Broadcasting Company, subsidiary of Washington Star Communications, Inc.; with the deal, Joe L. Allbritton, Star Communications chairman, complied with F.C.C. cross-ownership requirements and gained cash that would be helpful in sustaining the troubled *Washington Star*. The sale, announced March 31, required F.C.C. approval.

The Oakland Tribune

Joseph W. Knowland, editor and publisher; 103-year-old newspaper and Oak-

land's only daily since 1950: agreement on May 15, 1977, to sell to Combined Communications Corporation for \$4.4 million in cash and about \$8.7 million in Combined stock; subsequent negotiation raised the total price to \$17.8 million. (This amounts to about \$105 for each of the paper's daily 176,000 readers; by contrast, the *Kansas City Star* and *Times* went for more than \$200 a reader earlier in the year.) The sale ended sixty-two years of Knowland family control — by Joseph R. Knowland, a power in California Republican politics, from 1915 to 1966; by his son William F. Knowland, a one-time U.S. Senator, from 1966 to 1974; and by William's son Joseph W. Knowland to the present. The paper had gone on the market last December after an intra-family stockholders' fight sparked by declining profits.

HONORS

Harlan County USA

Story of strike of Kentucky coal miners, Barbara Kopple, producer and director: Academy Award for full-length documentary.

The Honolulu Advertiser

George Chaplin, editor; for its forty-part series, written by readers, on the press: the Edward Willis Scripps First Amendment Award.

KNXT-TV

Los Angeles (owned by CBS), for its study of local bureaucracy, "Los Angeles County: Your Money and Your Life": Sigma Delta Chi Award for public service in television journalism.

Lufkin News

Lufkin, Texas; Joe Murray, editor; for following up the death of a local Marine recruit with an investigation that led to reforms in Marine Corps recruiting and training: Pulitzer Prize for meritorious public service by a newspaper.

Philadelphia Magazine

Alan Halpern, editor; for its December 1976 article by Loretta Schwartz on institutional treatment of retarded children: National Magazine Award for public service (its second); and for Mike Mal-

lowe's report on public-school violence (April 1976); Sigma Delta Chi Award for public service in magazine journalism.

The Wall Street Journal

For coverage in 1976 of illegal corporate payoffs: Sigma Delta Chi Award for public service in newspaper journalism.

WCAU-AM Radio news

Philadelphia (owned by CBS), Ralph D'Amico, director of news and programming; for a series on learning disabilities, "Something's Wrong with My Child": Sigma Delta Chi Award for public service in radio journalism.

SPECIALS

A Day with President Carter

NBC News, 8-9 p.m. EST, April 14, 1977. Gordon Manning, executive producer; Ray Lockhart, producer; John Chancellor, reporter; sponsored by Textron Inc. and Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance. Hour selected from eighteen hours of taping of the president's activities on April 4, with portions of a cabinet meeting, and meetings with advisors, congressional leaders, and the president of Egypt. John J. O'Connor, *The New York Times*: "The camera in this type of project is far from candid, and any insight to be gained must be plucked from the inevitable mire of public-relations savvy. . . . The result, despite good intentions on both sides, verges on a glossy commercial for the Presidency and its current occupant. But, like any good commercial, it is not without value." *Time*, April 18, 1977, carried out a similar prose account of Carter's day on April 6. The magazine claimed that "With Jimmy from Dawn to Midnight" was the "first intimate look at how Carter governs." Excerpt: "Carter takes off his suit jacket and dons the zippered gray cardigan he keeps handy in a small closet. A fire is blazing in the fireplace. As he settles behind his desk and sips his morning coffee, he comments on the beauty of the White House and its grounds. A couple of evenings before, he says, he had picked a branch of crab apple blossoms for Rosalynn."

We Will Freeze in the Dark

Distributed by Capital Cities Communications to 160 television stations, 8, 9, 10 p.m. EST April 12, 1977. Av Westin, executive producer; Gordon Hyatt, producer and writer; Nancy Dickerson, narrator. Hour documentary on origins and prospects of the energy crisis.

Who's Got the Rights to Rhodesia?

CBS News, 10-11 p.m. EST, March 28, 1977. Irv Drasnin, producer, director, writer, reporter. Scheduled opposite Academy Awards ceremonies on ABC, prompting John J. O'Connor of *The New York Times* to comment: "This is in line with a cardinal rule of prime-time scheduling: That which has little chance is given, if at all possible, less of a chance." John P. Roche, in *TV Guide's* "News Watch" (April 23), wrote: "The result, in my judgment, was singularly balanced and informative. Some may have suspected that Drasnin selected white nuts for his interviews, but the appalling fact is that anyone who has followed Rhodesian events closely — as I have — recognized the authentic sentiments of the white settlers."

BOOKS

The Abuse of Power: The Permanent Government and the Fall of New York

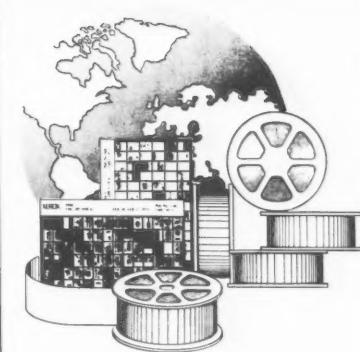
By Jack Newfield and Paul Dubrul. 368 pp. Viking, \$10.95. An exposé of the power elites that make New York City function and malfunction, by the senior editor of *The Village Voice* and a city planner in the Bronx borough president's office.

Convention

By Richard Reeves, with additional reporting by Barry M. Hager, Peter W. Kaplan, Brooke Shearer, Amanda Urban, Jean Valley, and Edward P. Whelan, and photographs by Elliott Erwitt. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 246 pp. \$10. A panoramic, group-journalistic account of the Democratic national convention of 1976 in New York. Of it, Sander Vanocur, television writer for *The Washington Post*, commented: "Richard Reeves has written a book about the 1976 Democratic National Convention which flatly contradicts what all the network commentators told us about the convention being dull. . . . All I kept thinking as I read it was why didn't television show me what Reeves and his six aides had gathered and reported?"

Public Trust, Private Lust: Sex, Power and Corruption on Capitol Hill

By Marion Clark and Rudy Maxa. 255 pp. Morrow, \$8.95. A slender spinoff by the Woodstein of the bedchamber, who exposed Wayne Hays and Elizabeth Whatshername.



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UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Perceiving Powers

TO THE REVIEW:

Ron Powers's astute observations in his article "Eyewitness News" are right on the mark.

Where is television news heading? I am reminded of the rigged quiz shows of the 1950s and now the rigged newscasts of the 1970s.

Unfortunately, television news people go in for too much glossy style and, as it turns out, they are incapable of recognizing the substance that is news. It's the viewer who is shortchanged.

EDWARD HYMOFF
Yonkers, N.Y.

TO THE REVIEW:

Finally someone has said it, and I do not feel so alone. Ron Powers in his perspective "Eyewitness News" has aimed his sights on what has to be one of television's greatest sham, news shows.

Sad to say there is a plethora of "Eyewitness News" all across the country, churning out refined and processed "news" like so many McDonalds. It is no wonder that my TV remains in the closet.

Here in the Bay Area, one network advertises their local news team with billboards of the beautiful newscasters splashed like so much confetti; the caption reads, "They give it to you straight." One must wonder, straight where?

Thank you for a well written, insightful article.

ALAIN A. JOURDIER
Oakland, Calif.

TO THE REVIEW:

If the *Review* chooses to stand above us all and seek to guide and provide a conscience for our profession, it and Ron Powers had better clean up their collective act.

While I am in agreement with Powers's contention that local television news is in serious disrepair, his vantage point is suspect. How can Powers, who is media critic for WMAQ-TV in Chicago, fairly criticize his leading ratings competitor, WLS-TV? As one who is somewhat familiar with the Chicago news market, it seems Powers's report has some merit, but it remains suspect. He impairs his credibility by picking on a competitor. Why didn't he do his compara-

tive review (WLS vs. the *Chicago Tribune*) in St. Louis, or Denver, or San Francisco . . . anywhere but his backyard to avoid the appearance of backbiting. Foolish of him, and foolish of the *Review* to run the piece.

Fairness, and the appearance thereof, are as axiomatic of good journalism as the requirement that newspapers, magazines, and broadcast outlets report that which is important, not frivolous and merely designed to attract readers and viewers.

PETER M. STURTEVANT, JR.
National Editor, CBS News
New York

The editors reply: *The Review* was aware of, and noted, in identifying the author, Powers's present connection. The book from which the article was adapted was written in the spring and summer of 1976; Powers joined WMAQ-TV the following fall. Powers concedes that the job offer arose from contacts that were originally made in connection with research for his book. The editors, however, did not have, and do not have, any reason to believe that this prospect in any way influenced what he wrote.

TO THE REVIEW:

I am in almost total agreement with the criticisms Ron Powers detailed in his article; in the accompanying box, however, ("Local TV News: Mosts and Leasts"), I object to this news department being lumped in with a couple of other stations because Newhouse Broadcasting is involved in their ownership. Newhouse does not have control; only 50 percent. We could just as logically have been listed under the category of non-broadcast groups since local stockholders own the other 50 percent.

Access magazine, which compiled the statistics, gave us a fairer reading. Those figures, reprinted in "Broadcasting in America — 1976," list KOIN-TV as tied for twenty-fifth place among the top fifty stations with 8.3 percent of the broadcast day devoted to news and 2.5 percent listed as public affairs programs.

According to the *CJR* article, the median station devotes 6.9 percent to news and 2.4 percent to public affairs for a total of 9.3 percent. Determined individually, then we'd have come up with a total of 10.8 percent.

Granted, this could be improved, especially the P.A. contribution, and it has been. Our 1976 report to the Federal Communications Commission shows news now at 11.3 percent and public affairs at 4.9 percent. A total of 16.2 percent.

We are proud of our news department. We are not an "Eyewitness News" organization. We've never employed a consultant. We've not hired a person solely to read the news; all those who anchor programs also are in the field reporting. We forbid chitchat and other show business intrusions.

In the last three rating books, the early news was rated first, our late news is in a dead heat with the competition, and our midday news program has increased two rating points to tie the competition, which has declined four rating points. We do two and a half hours of local news programming each weekday; an hour and a half on Saturday and an hour on Sunday.

We've proved that viewers are not as stupid as some would have you believe, that they appreciate a straightforward, fair, and accurate presentation. That is what we're doing and I resent being categorized with stations in St. Louis and Syracuse that apparently are doing something else. . . . And by this time next year I expect we'll be doing even better as the result of the sale of the station to Lee Enterprises.

TED BRYANT
News Director, KOIN
Portland, Ore.

TO THE REVIEW:

Two nits to pick: one tolerably serious, one more mischievous.

Ron Powers undercuts his otherwise excellent article by taking the KTTV/Los Angeles *Metro News*, *Metro News* seriously. Indeed, the farce is so broad and unmistakable (though concededly uneven) that Powers begins to resemble one of the tennis-shod little old Pasadenans who write to *Mad* magazine to object to its "handling of the news." Ashman and Rowe, both fine journalists in more conventional settings, consciously pitch *Metro News*, *Metro News* to fans of Chevy Chase rather than Martin Agronsky. Powers might hide behind ignorance of Angeleno wit but for the fact that he omits to mention (1) the show's title, and (2) its scheduling — immediately after *Mary*

Hartman, Mary Hartman — neither of which he could have missed and both of which telegraph the show's metier.

Caesar's Wife Dept.: Whoever puts together "The Lower case" should check and re-check to avoid such squirrelly slips as putting the Asheville (North Carolina) *Citizen* (TOWN OKS ANIMAL RULE) in S.C. Tch and double-tch. We hillbillies have enough trouble getting the middle "e" in Asheville printed without being troubled by ignoramuses — ignorami? — who would uproot us from our Appalachian homes and deposit us in the sandy barrens of South Carolina.

ANDREW WATSON
Los Angeles Herald-Examiner

TO THE REVIEW:

While I share many of Ron Powers's criticisms of my trade ("Eyewitness News," *CJR* May/June), he did unfairly single out my co-worker, Betsy Ashton.

Ms. Ashton was not sitting in a cemetery announcing a story on Howard Hughes's will. She was reporting from several locations on the dangers of holographic wills and her story covered important consumer information. Her work certainly should not be linked with those who may go swimming with a porpoise or tame a lion in the name of "Eyewitness News."

Incidentally, I note that Mr. Powers and *CJR*'s editors refer to Ms. Ashton as "a woman reporter." "Reporter" will do, gentlemen.

DAVID SCHOUMACHER
WMAL-TV
Washington, D.C.

The editors reply: *The Review* happily retracts the "woman"; will Mr. Schoumacher retract the "gentlemen"?

Bond issue

TO THE REVIEW:

A dart, as *CJR* would say, to Mr. Gaillard T. Hunt, a Washington lawyer whose briefs must be unpersuasive indeed if they are as tendentious as his article "Crusading for Jail over Bail" (*CJR*, May/June).

Some of what Mr. Hunt says constitutes fair comment. Although he may prefer another approach, *The Washington Star* is interested in shutting the "revolving door" by which arguably dangerous defendants with criminal records are casually released. If that requires some amendment of the District of Columbia bail act, so be it.

My points concern what Mr. Hunt left out

of his discussion. He supposes — incorrectly, as it happens, although a telephone call to our office might have cleared up the misimpression — that the *Star*, after fussing editorially about Mr. Logan/Jackson's release, had "forgotten" the date we had advised our readers to keep an eye on. I can assure him, as well as your readers, that we were very much interested in his appearance dates and kept in close touch with the court to find out whether or not he kept them.

Unfortunately, Mr. Hunt quotes so selectively from our editorial of March 9, 1976 (A "dungeon," as he puts it, proceeding in "higher and higher cycles") as to make it sound like wholesale rant. He may find it so. But a few random quotations may suggest that it was somewhat more restrained and reasonable than he would lead *CJR* readers to believe.

Mr. Hunt, incidentally, reveals less than all about Mr. Logan/Jackson's record — for instance, that at the time of his arrest he was a fugitive from justice who had violated parole in connection with an unlawful entry conviction two years earlier.

Even in his case, however, the *Star* did not call for a restoration of older practices in bond and bail which, as we said, were used "to hold criminal suspects to ransom" — a practice that armed the courts with unrestrained powers of detention, which they sometimes used in a highly discriminatory fashion. Of the D.C. Bail Reform Act, we conceded that it was "laudable . . . in theory and intention" if disastrous is result. Our proposed solution is not, I think, as draconian as Mr. Hunt's article might suggest. ". . . The only solution acceptable under our notions of equal justice . . . is to shorten drastically the lapses of time between arrest and extradition, indictment and trial — especially between arrest and trial." Finally, we took the view that notwithstanding the technicalities of the law "no suspect certified by the police as having twice confessed to murder, already a fugitive from justice after a prior conviction of a serious crime, should be at large for a month on the posting of a mere \$1,000 bond." We have found no reason to reconsider that view.

EDWIN M. YODER, JR.
Associate editor
The Washington Star

Don't call us, we'll call you

TO THE REVIEW:

Your statement that "Jimmy Carter let CBS serve as the medium for his pilot presidential call-in show ('Comment,' *CJR*, May/June) is erroneous.

The concept for a radio call-in broadcast was Richard Salant's, president of CBS News, and not Mr. Carter's. On January 8, Mr. Salant sent president-elect Jimmy Carter a telegram offering "to make the network's facilities available to you for one, two or three hours on a weekend afternoon so that people all over the United States can telephone you. . . ." The broadcast was paid for and controlled solely by CBS News, not by the White House.

Also, Walter Cronkite's role was not "largely ceremonial," but that of a journalist who not only moderated the broadcast but also asked questions of his own.

"Ask President Carter" was not on radio "more or less by accident," but by design. The focus of the broadcast was on the people of the United States — their questions and concerns — not on President Carter. This would not have been true if CBS News had aired the broadcast on television.

CBS News is proud that this broadcast was as successful as it was and that the American public responded as enthusiastically as it did in its chance to talk directly to the President.

ELLEN EHRLICH
Director Information Services
CBS News

The editors reply: *President Carter and his advisers are in the position of being able to choose, from among a variety of network proposals, those that suit them best. A remark by Barry Jagoda, White House media adviser (quoted by Richard Reeves in The New York Times Magazine for May 15), seems apropos: "My job is knowing what broadcasting wants and, to a certain extent, making them think that what we want is actually their idea."*

On Walter Cronkite's role, the Review editors concur in the opinion of Charles B. Seib, Washington Post ombudsman, that his "was a necessary function, but not a journalistic one, and it might better have been done by someone else."

Heavy cross

TO THE REVIEW:

What galls me most about the *Columbia Journalism Review* is that it allows academicians like William T. Gormley to write with impunity about subjects they know little or nothing about. What are your editors doing?

It is true that I "occasionally chat over coffee with friends at the *Morning News*," as Gormley writes ("How Cross-Ownership Affects News-Gathering," *CJR* May/June). So what? How innocent of me not to realize

that these conversations (small talk, occurring maybe twice a month) were part of a cruel and insidious plot to homogenize news coverage in the Dallas-Fort Worth area. It is true that I once worked for *The Dallas Morning News*, but two years later I became a born-again journalist by attending Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism, where any incipient tendencies to reduce competition were purged by repeated readings from *The Professional Journalist*.

The insinuation is that I carried a body of news policies across some back alley from the *Morning News* to WFAA-TV. I left the *News* in 1960. Since that time I have worked for NBC News for five years, an independent television station in Los Angeles, and WCBS-TV, the CBS O-and-O flagship, for more than three years.

WFAA-TV News competes with the three major dailies in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, just as we do with the television and radio stations. On page 22 of the same May/June issue there is just one indication of the news commitment of WFAA-TV.

I've reviewed coverage for three days of last week (May 11, 12, and 13), and I've found roughly a dozen stories on our six and ten o'clock broadcasts that were on page one or the first local page of the *Morning News*. In each case, we did the story first. We don't take newspaper stories and then "visualize them." We don't exchange notes. We don't exchange carbons. My "chats" have nothing to do with news policy. Mr. Gormley should know this.

The State University of New York, Stony Brook, may be getting an excellent professor of political science this fall. It also is getting a mediocre reporter.

MARTY HAAG
Executive news director, WFAA-TV
Dallas

William T. Gormley replies: *Mr. Haag may be one of those rare journalists who do not talk shop when they converse with other journalists over coffee. All the better for his digestion. Nevertheless, my conclusion remains that newspaper and television journalists who used to work together are more likely than other journalists to exchange story ideas and take cues from one another. It is this process, not the transmission of "news policies," that cross-ownership promotes.*

As for news homogeneity, Mr. Haag correctly observes that many stories covered by both The Dallas Morning News and WFAA-TV appear first on WFAA-TV. While I certainly agree that the flow of news is not unidirectional, I would add that cross-ownership can influence the amount of

that flow. When I was in Dallas (two years ago), the city editor of the Morning News, Bob Miller, was monitoring the newscasts of WFAA-TV — and WFAA-TV alone — nightly. Having worked with Mr. Haag some years ago, Mr. Miller apparently respects him enough to seek an occasional story idea from newscasts.

Saccharin blues

TO THE REVIEW:

Beware the blanket indictment ("The Media's Sweet Tooth," CJR May/June). Somebody did ask Frederick Coulston to list all the backers for his saccharin research. After verifying the list with one of the backers he named, we mentioned the private funding in our only story on the research.

Our story quoted Coulston as saying he was backed in part by drug companies that were saccharin users. Although incomplete — by intention, for space reasons — our characterization of the private funding was, ironically, more accurate than your own subsequent report.

You say that the backers included "saccharin and sugar producers." But I bet you can't name even one saccharin producer as a backer.

JEFFREY A. TANNENBAUM
Staff reporter
The Wall Street Journal

R. Jeffrey Smith replies: *Coulston refused to release to me the names of private companies that had funded his study, a disclosure which he said was not even required by the F.D.A., another partial backer. He said, however, that "a group of companies in the saccharin industry had helped to fund the study" through one or more industry associations, and this was represented in my article as "saccharin producers." If the distinction Tannenbaum draws is between companies that make the chemical, saccharin, and companies that make products that contain the chemical, I believe it to be a spurious one within the context of potential research bias through funding by these companies. Tannenbaum told me that he checked with the only two saccharin-producing companies in the U.S., and neither had funded the study. Without knowing whether or not these or any other companies funded the unnamed saccharin industry association that gave Coulston money, however, he can be no more sure of their identities than I.*

A more significant problem with the coverage of Coulston's study, which found no saccharin hazard to rhesus monkeys, may have been omissions of the fact that his study

involved saccharin dosage levels many times greater than normal human consumption. Similar high dosages were used in the Canadian study, which was criticized precisely on those grounds. Even the Wall Street Journal article referred to by Tannenbaum quoted a PepsiCo official as calling the Canadian test data "preposterous" because of the dosage levels, while reporting approval of Coulston's study by the Calorie Control Council.

No wicked witches

The following commentary was published in the Bangor Daily News on April 8. It was written by the paper's managing editor, Marshall L. Stone.

To people in the trade, CJR means the *Columbia Journalism Review*. It issues bimonthly from the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, and is held in esteem by almost everybody.

It is scholarly, you see; its pronouncements tend to awe the etaoin shrdlu generation of journalists.

CJR proclaims its role with typical mastheadian immodesty:

"To assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define — or redefine — standards of honest, responsible service . . . to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent."

It does all this admirably enough. The only journalistic shortcomings it doesn't call attention to are its own.

The journal has a famous regular department labeled "Darts and Laurels." There, from their Wizard of Oz fortress in New York's Morningside Heights, its editors laud and lambaste the media with impunity and occasional impudence.

A critic of CJR is always tempted to say, "Dart: to the *Columbia Journalism Review* for . . ."

I'm not satisfied with a dart. I'd like some nails, and a cross.

CJR did a slurpy assessment last fall of our distinguished neighbor in Topsham. The article was entitled, "Maine Times — Muckraker by Default." It told how the "feisty" weekly went after a story that the "timid" daily newspapers and wireservice bureaus wouldn't break.

My quarrel is not with *Maine Times*. It did get the story first. I realize *Maine Times* is the darling of academic journalism, and should be, because it is bright, innovative,

continued on page 70

Papers probing other papers (cont'd)

The Quincy *Patriot Ledger* is normally not available in the small Massachusetts industrial city of Brockton, twenty-five miles south of Boston and fifteen miles south of Quincy. On the afternoon of April 7, however, a thousand free copies of the *Ledger* appeared at Brockton newsstands, bars, and government buildings. The papers had been brought in by a group of Brockton politicians eager to publicize a lengthy investigation of one of the major civic powers in Brockton — the *Enterprise*, the city's only daily newspaper and owner of two of Brockton's three radio stations.

Although involving smaller cities and papers (the *Ledger* and *Enterprise* sell 77,000 and 52,000 copies a day, respectively), the *Ledger* story paralleled the *Los Angeles Times*'s December 1976 investigation of its neighbor newspapers, the Long Beach *Independent* and *Press-Telegram* ("Comment," March/April 1977). In both cases, one newspaper investigated another's alleged undue influence over a city's civic affairs.

The story, by a *Ledger* reporter, Paul Mindus, charged that the *Enterprise* management had used friendships with city officials, and its own front page, to promote a downtown renewal project in which it had a financial interest. More specifically, the story asserted that the *Enterprise*'s editor, Myron Fuller, whose family controls the newspaper, had conspired with the head of the Brockton Redevelopment Authority to push the renewal project through the City Council. The council did not learn until months after its favorable vote, the story claimed, that the renewal would include city-financed land acquisition and demolition that would enable the *Enterprise* to expand its plant. The *Ledger* also charged that this was but one episode in a history of *Enterprise* news coverage that tended to promote either the financial interests of the paper or the political friendships of the management.

Unlike the *Los Angeles Times*'s story, however, the *Ledger* investigation did not arouse suspicion of any competitive motivation. Although the two papers do share some circulation areas in Boston's South Shore suburbs, they have long had a tacit agreement not to invade each other's home town. Had it not been for the bundles of papers imported by Brockton politicians, the April 7 *Ledger* would not have circulated in Brockton.

If anything, the fact that the *Ledger*'s target was another newspaper prompted it to soften its findings. The investigation was run

under a bland front-page headline — not the paper's main head — that emphasized Fuller's denial. Only on pages 34 and 35 could readers find the major spread, with photos, that the story seemed to deserve. The reporter, Mindus, says: "If this had been a story about nursing homes or something, we'd have probably kept on it for days and run news analysis and columns."

The issues raised by the *Ledger* story are still very much alive. Even before publication of the investigation, the Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs intervened to order a temporary halt to the renewal project, which was to be financed, in part, by state funds.

Early in May the state agency permanently struck down the plan in which the *Enterprise* had figured. The decision was based on a determination that the *Enterprise* and the Brockton Redevelopment Authority had had discussions about the newspaper's designation as renewal developer long before the paper's role was announced to the public or the City Council. The *Ledger*'s investigation pointed up such a possibility by publishing a previously unrevealed May 1976 Redevelopment Authority map on which the pro-

posed expanded newspaper plant was included — a map that was drawn up eight months before the official announcement.

The *Enterprise* still faces a federal court suit that has been filed by the owners of a building slated for demolition. The suit names the *Enterprise* as a defendant, and the paper's news coverage could be an issue if there is a trial. In the days preceding the state's decision, the *Enterprise* itself gave the renewal story prominent play, including front-page stories asserting its innocence and strongly implying that the entire dispute would soon blow over, as well as front-page photos of the state official who decided the project's fate, captioned with questions attacking his judgment in other matters. But the *Enterprise* has so far failed to mention one aspect of the controversy — the *Ledger*'s investigation. Notwithstanding all this, the issue soon will return to the Brockton City Council, which could choose to revive the plan and again name the *Enterprise* as developer. The betting in this one-newspaper city is that it will.

HOWARD HUSOCK

Howard Husock is a staff writer for The Boston Phoenix.



Richard Fallon

Under suspended development plan, Brockton Enterprise would have moved from small building (beyond taxi in left photo) to 25,000 square feet in new building (below) on the same site



UNFINISHED BUSINESS

combative, courageous, and disestablishmentarian. It is also predictable, of course, as with all advocacy journalism; it goes after stories in-depth — and the facts it gathers, by God, support its themes. I love *Maine Times*.

My altercation is with CJR, for failing to follow two basics of reporting, accuracy and balance; and then, worst of all, for declining to publish the rebuttals that it should have gotten in the first place.

That kind of journalism burns my donkey!

The story was the *Maine Times*'s running investigation of the business practices of state Senator Richard N. Berry, after he had sought a rate increase for his Rangeley Power Company.

The result was a \$5 million libel suit filed by Berry against *Maine Times* and three of its staffers.

CJR's report, written by Myron Levin, credited *Maine Times* with being the only news organization in the state with the courage and resolve to engage in "muckraking" reporting such as the Berry story. It implied that the dailies and wire services shy away from investigative reporting because of the fear of libel suits.

At least one daily — this one — holds the dubious distinction of having more and bigger libel suits than *Maine Times*.

CJR was inaccurate in its statement that "not until the latter part of the eighteen-month story did the Maine daily press begin to get interested. And the dailies did not really jump until Berry sued the *Maine Times*."

The *B.D.N.* carried stories about the Public Utilities Commission investigation of Berry a full year before the *Times*'s libel suit; and both wire services staffed public hearings on the P.U.C. probe, with prominent stories in most Maine papers eight months in advance of the lawsuit.

CJR was both inaccurate and unfair when it cast two excellent reporters, The Associated Press's Maureen Connolly and the *B.D.N.*'s John S. Day, as villains of the piece. It smeared their reputations before a national audience, and gave them no chance for public rebuttal.

CJR said both reporters sat on the story, that Connolly "turned the story over to *Maine Times* reporter Phyllis Austin, and that Day held back the Berry story "so that she [Austin] could break the story first."

Neither allegation is accurate, according to the "villains." Day filed a vigorous written protest with CJR, never published.

As Prof. Alan Miller of the University of Maine at Orono's journalism department said in another protest letter to CJR (also unpub-

lished), "Such remarks beg for comment or rebuttal, yet Levin gives the reader only a one-sided account."

Levin said his story was cut and changed by CJR editors.

So in its March/April issue, CJR dismissed it all with this brief note headed "Earlier controversies":

"Two items in the November/December issue had been challenged. Alan Miller, University of Maine, and John S. Day, *Bangor Daily News*, dispute parts of Myron Levin's article on the *Maine Times*. . . . Although lack of space prevents publication of this correspondence, copies are available on request, with the author's replies."

Well, I'm not canceling my subscription to CJR, I'm renewing it, in fact, — because I

want to watch how CJR speaks out for what is right, fair and decent.

Myron Levin replies: *My original manuscript mentioned two libel suits filed against John Day and the Bangor Daily News. The cutting of this section may have altered the context somewhat but none of the facts concerning the way Day and A.P. reporter Connolly allowed Maine Times to be first with the Berry story.*

Had journalism professor Alan Miller and Bangor Daily News columnist Marshall Stone gone to the trouble of checking both sides — something they are very good at urging others to do — they would have learned that I interviewed both Maureen Connolly and John Day; that Connolly confirmed she

Evaluating the News Council

Because the National News Council did not meet during the recent two-month period, "National News Council Report" does not appear in this issue. The Council has asked that the Review call readers' attention to the report of the ethics subcommittee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, submitted at A.S.N.E.'s national convention in May. Excerpts follow.

As it moves into its fourth year, the National News Council (N.N.C.) appears to be healthier and stronger. A number of events in 1976-77 lead observers to these conclusions.

A committee of three American Society of Newspaper Editors' (A.S.N.E.) members attended meetings of the N.N.C., reviewed published material about the council, and talked at length with N.N.C. members and staff to prepare this report.

We find the future of the N.N.C. brighter today than we did a year ago for several reasons:

□ **Financial.** The N.N.C.'s efforts to raise necessary funds to continue past its third anniversary were successful. Efforts are being made to establish an endowment fund that would help provide a degree of financial stability in future years. Unless this is accomplished, much of the time of N.N.C. executives will continue to be spent in fundraising, thereby stealing time from their media watchdog roles.

□ **Leadership.** Norman Isaacs, a former A.S.N.E. president, is the new chairman of the National News Council. Anyone who knows Isaacs is aware that he will be an activist chairman. Isaacs hopes to expand N.N.C. activities into areas rarely touched by the council thus far. An evaluation com-

mittee in 1976 suggested that the N.N.C. expand its purview to include all media, whether national or local, and Isaacs agrees. He sees the N.N.C. as a middleman that should be involved in future controversies between the press and bar, the press and government or the press and anyone. Because the N.N.C. is a private organization and not in an adversary role, Isaacs thinks the N.N.C. is uniquely suited for this mediating function.

□ **Visibility.** One of the N.N.C.'s larger problems is that few Americans know it exists. When Isaacs was elected an N.N.C. member, for instance, the only mention in New York City media was one paragraph in the *Daily News*. No mention at all was made of several significant council findings on media complaints at that same meeting. Wire services provide limited coverage, but few newspapers ever use the stories. A major Associated Press story in August 1976, which quoted liberally from the A.S.N.E.'s 1976 press council monitoring report to its members, was not widely published. The N.N.C. meetings generally are well reported by *Editor & Publisher*, *The Quill*, *Columbia Journalism Review*, and a few other specialized publications sometimes give their readers a paragraph or two digesting council actions. The *Columbia Journalism Review* began publishing N.N.C. findings in full in its last issue. A monthly newsletter has been started by Isaacs to tell media people the news of N.N.C. meetings and plans.

□ **Acceptance.** The N.N.C. took a leadership role in condemning the Soviet threat to get UNESCO to pass a resolution that would have destroyed free and independent press coverage. The matter was tabled for two years, but many newspaper columnists and editorials acknowledged the N.N.C. state-

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

had looked into the Berry story and then suggested it to Maine Times reporter Phyllis Austin; that Day admitted he held off on the story because Austin asked him to let her break it first, adding he was busy at the time so Austin might have beaten him anyway.

As for the suggestion that the daily press was involved in the Berry story early on, Stone would be better off carrying the burden for the Bangor Daily News and Day alone, for the wire services and other dailies ignored the controversy for months, remaining true to the Maine daily press practice of ignoring important stories somebody else reports first.

Finally, there was no attempt to cast Day and Connolly — both accomplished reporters — as "villains," but merely to report a

slice of journalistic life as it is lived in Maine. The truth hurts.

The editors reply: The replies to the article (which appeared in the November/December 1976 issue) were received after the January/February issue was closed. In the March/April issue, priority had to be given to letters dealing with the issue immediately preceding. Rather than omit entirely the responses to the Maine Times article, the editors offered to supply the complete correspondence on request, and did so in several instances. The editors agree with the author that the right to reply should not be limited by a lapse of time, and would not have limited it in this instance if space had been available.

ment in print. The C.I.A. was being very uncooperative with requests to discuss its affiliations with American newsmen and organizations in 1976, but the spy agency director met with the N.N.C. because it was perceived to be a vitally interested party outside the journalism profession.

These are some of the reasons your A.S.N.E. committee believes the N.N.C. is healthier and stronger.

Any newsmen would be impressed by the caliber of the council members, the care with which they examine the issues, and their determination to be both decisive and fair. An effort to broaden representation of the council is planned for 1977 as new members are selected.

The N.N.C. staff is eager and dedicated, but the committee believes the exact role of the council must be better defined by Isaacs and others for the skills of the staff to be properly utilized.

At one recent N.N.C. meeting, the uncharted-role problem came up during discussion of freedom-of-press issues. Among the questions asked by members were:

- Does the N.N.C. belong in the freedom-of-press area?
- How does the N.N.C. avoid duplicating activities of other groups?
- Should the N.N.C. involve itself in encouraging workshops to improve reportorial skills in specific fields, such as medicine?
- Is the N.N.C. the proper organization to take a leadership role in fashioning outlines for future presidential debates?
- What should the scope of the N.N.C. be? International? Only the national media? Any American media?
- Should the N.N.C. initiate grievance activity or should it come into a dispute by invitation only?

Should freedom-of-press issues be entered in general terms or only in specific terms on concrete problems?

Meaningful resolution of problems before the N.N.C. sometimes bogs down in these kinds of questions. This is an area of critical importance for the new chairman to help solve. In fact, the committee believes that with the financial pressures of the past diminished somewhat, the future of the N.N.C. may well depend on what Isaacs is able to accomplish during this term as chairman. We expect to see better and faster staff evaluation of pending grievances plus more consultation with council members between meetings. This will sharpen the focus of discussion at the bimonthly meetings and speed action without hurting the council's deliberative process.

Last year's A.S.N.E. committee that monitored the N.N.C. cautioned against moving to expand the council's vistas from dealing solely with "national news suppliers" to accepting complaints at local levels. The committee felt this could overtax the N.N.C.'s limited resources and possibly arouse local resistance that could diminish support for the Council.

This year's A.S.N.E. committee does not disagree with that warning, but acknowledges that some limited expansion of the N.N.C.'s attention may be warranted.

Threats to freedom of the press and matters of national interest sometimes take place outside the cities of New York and Washington. To focus only on national news suppliers would have its elevating effect on journalism as a whole, but it could ignore matters of national import that are occurring elsewhere. It also would negate efforts to convince the people around the country that the N.N.C. is responsive to them in seeking

Good work (overlooked)

In her article "Reporting on Nuclear Power: the Tennessee Valley Case" (CJR, March/April), Deborah Shapley wrote that "much of the valley press tends . . . heartily to approve of whatever T.V.A. does," including its decision to "go nuclear." Two newspapers were singled out as exceptions to this rule: *The (Nashville) Tennessean* and *The Mountain Eagle*. The editors have since received an impressive file of clips from the Kingsport, Tennessee, *Times-News* (circulation: 40,000) — abundant evidence that this paper covered both sides of critical questions relating to the development of nuclear power.

fair and accurate reportage.

Thus local events of "national significance as news or for journalism," as the 1976 evaluation committee recommended, could fit easily into the N.N.C.'s purview.

The committee has been mindful each year of the views of council critics who believe the N.N.C. will promote certain standards of performance that could be easily adoptable by the government as regulations. The N.N.C., however, is intended to be a buffer, short-circuiting public complaints before they translate themselves into a push for government action to repeal the First Amendment.

The committee has seen in the more than 400 complaints evaluated by the N.N.C. in its three and a half years nothing to cause dismay to anyone who believes in freedom of the press.

In fact, the council often has intervened on behalf of the press in cases of suspected infringement on First Amendment rights.

The committee recommends continued monitoring of the N.N.C. by the A.S.N.E. in the future. It believes an annual assessment of the council by A.S.N.E. members is healthy for both organizations.

Both are working to improve the credibility and performance of our profession — so we shouldn't be strangers.

For the subcommittee:

ROBERT M. STIFF,
St. Petersburg Independent,
subcommittee chairman

ROBERT BARNARD
Louisville Courier-Journal

ROBERT C. ATKINSON,
Syracuse Post-Standard

(April 1, 1977)

REPORTS

"The Harlot's Prerogative," by Henry Fairlie, *The New Republic*, April 30, May 7, 1977

The allusion in the title is to power without responsibility — and that, says Fairlie, is only one of the things wrong with American journalism. With literate intensity, the British journalist dissects the two newspapers which, he says, most closely approach the British concept of a national press, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. His complaints are various: the disconnectedness of the *Times*'s Op-Ed page; the misapplication of the alleged "right to know" principle to titillating exposés that focus on individuals while leaving the system untouched; the self-destructive aim at some fictitious "general reader"; the dreariness of the *Post*'s columnists ("On and on they lumber, their udders dry, eating the best grass, taking the best stalls, through middle age into old age, and all they say is 'Moo' and then 'Moo!'"). All of these failings, however, he finds to be symptoms of a general collapse — the dispersion of the unified voice of institutional authority that once gave readers a consistency of vision, values, and attitudes about life and society. It is a collapse he attributes to the press's involvement in a corporate structure that gives increasing primacy to profits over journalism. Disappointed, irritated, even disgusted with the American press, Fairlie warns against its further, and possibly irrevocable, degradation.

"Welcome to Hard Times," by Mike Mallowe, *Philadelphia*, April 1977

When the twenty-three day Philadelphia newspaper strike ended this March with a whimper, neither side felt triumphant enough to claim victory: the negotiated package was far too low, the lost revenues were far too high, the bitterness far too deep. Here is the behind-the-picket-lines story, with complications, machinations, and allegations galore, including suggestions of conspiracy by both sides. On the one hand, Mallowe says, was the Guild — "a lofty relic of the Depression" — now ideologically, financially, and organizationally weak, in an alliance with the craft unions, who were using the Guild for larger tactical maneuvering; on the other, the city's three major dailies: the Knight-Ridder *Daily News* and *Inquirer*,

which were struck, and their arch-rival *Evening Bulletin*, which was not — and which, under a short-lived mutual aid pact, not only refused to capitalize on its competitors' labor woes, but also put out a triple-logged paper symbolic of the publishers' solidarity. In telling detail, Mallowe sets in their historical context the unions, the papers, and the individuals at the moment of their confrontation in Philadelphia — a confrontation, he strongly believes, that never should have happened in the first place.

"Who Killed George Polk?" by Yiannis P. Roubatis and Elias Vlanton, *More*, May 1977

Charging a massive cover-up by the U.S. State Department, the Greek government, and the C.I.A. — a cover-up abetted by a "conspiracy of silence" on the part of the American press — this unnerving report re-examines the case of George Polk, CBS correspondent murdered in Greece in 1948 at the height of its civil unrest. The extensive, documented article by two Washington freelance writers traces the history of the case through its several investigations to its official solution. The unanimous conclusion at the time — that it had been the Communists who were responsible for the assassination — was not publicly challenged even by Walter Lippmann's Overseas Writers Committee (a committee compromised, the authors charge, by a principal investigator who was an architect of cold-war policy); doubtful motives, weak evidence, contradictory findings were all ignored, presumably in the service of a "national interest" that deemed it advisable to avoid arousing adverse public opinion against the Greek aid program by accusing the Right. Now, recantation by previous witnesses, emerging evidence, and calls for a new trial suggest that after twenty-nine years, justice may be finally served. Even now, however, despite a blaze of excitement in the Greek press (not to mention the professional awards that honor Polk's memory), American coverage of recent developments in the case remains conspicuously scant.

"Or of the [Broadcast] Press," by L. A. Powe, Jr., *Texas Law Review*, December 1976

A formidable contribution to an ongoing debate, Powe's essay combines legal and social perspectives to argue the case for broadcast

ing deregulation. Focusing on gnawing inconsistencies in First Amendment interpretations applied to different — questionably different, as Powe argues — categories of the press, the author traces the landmarks in the history of the regulation of broadcasting content, with particular emphasis on its cornerstone, the fairness doctrine. In Powe's view, the costs of public regulation are considerably higher than its benefits: Ironically enough, "the doctrine primarily serves as a nuisance that everyone from activists to oil company executives knows deters some controversial programming. Whenever a network airs a controversial documentary fairness complaints are generated . . . [and] the process of transferring network dollars to lawyers' pockets begins. This compounds the unprofitability of documentaries. . . . Thus, any potential pitfalls created by the fairness doctrine . . . counsel avoidance of the thankless task of informing the public." Addressing the obvious question — why regulate? — Powe goes on to consider — and to refute systematically — the major rationales invoked in its justification: the scarcity of access, the potential for partisanship, the subliminal impact on a captive audience. Not optimistic that a judiciary currently so concerned with press responsibility is likely to right what he regards as regulatory wrongs, Powe rests his sophisticated case on a simple appeal: "The First Amendment," he says, "deserves better."

"What the Times and Post Are Missing," by Nick Kotz, *Washington Monthly*, March 1977

If a tree falls in the provincial media forest, does it make a sound? Not in New York or Washington, it doesn't, where perceptions of the power establishment seem strictly limited to emanations from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the news magazines, the wire services, and the networks. This article by a former reporter for the *Des Moines Register* and *The Washington Post* focuses on our one-way east-to-west flow of national information, drawing on convincing examples of solid investigative journalism in the non-national press that had potential national significance but failed to produce any official reaction whatsoever, merely because they came from the boondocks — Philadelphia or St. Louis, Louisville or Baltimore. Kotz's evidence points to arrogance in the Eastern press, an absence of diversity in national news, and a consequent lopsided control over the setting of the national agenda. It's time things changed and our media horizons expanded, the author urges; for Spiro may have been at least partly right after all.

G. C.

The Lower case

U.S. to fire Europe into stationary orbit

The Times-Union (Albany, N.Y.) 4/18/77

After the blast, Cooper said, his company was marched to within 100 or 200 yards of the tower, then reduced to a 20-foot pile of molten steel.

New York Post 4/6/77

State dinner featured cat, American food

Bellingham (Wash.) Herald 2/15/77

Frost kills Nixon tree

The Times-Union (Albany, N.Y.) 5/13/77

On April 21, National Public Radio reported that the court had voted 5-3 at its private conference April 15 to turn down the appeals but that Chief Justice Warren E. Burger held up announcing the decision in an attempt to muster enough votes and hijacked a train in the Northern Netherlands today, a government official said.

The Mining Journal (Marquette, Mich.) 5/23/77

Young makes Zanzibar stop

Wisconsin State Journal 2/4/77

Council spits on Shade Tree appointment

The Hillsdale (N.J.) News 5/11/77

THE UNITED STATES HAS AGREED TO DROP ITS OPPOSITION TO THE ADMISSION OF VIETNAM TO THE UNITED STATES.

A.P. Newswire 5/4/77

City to Add 12 Foot Cops

The Trentonian (N.J.) 3/24/77

Arrest pair in fine box theft

Daily Mining Gazette (Houghton, Mich.) 4/21/77

THE TOP KREMLIN LEADERS ALL TURNED OUT TODAY TO WELCOME CUBAN LEADER FIDEL CASTRO TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

U.P.I. radio wire 4/4/77

Asked to describe Nixon's mood, he said: "Composed, I suppose, is the best word, because he's about to embark on these 12 sessions of two-hour interviews, which are a tremendous undertalking, really."

Wisconsin State Journal 3/22/77

In later life, there is good evidence that adults who are breastfed are considerably more protected against obesity and hypertension.

Daily Camera (Boulder, Colo.) 4/18/77

9:30 **C4 ABC Energy**—The Republican View Struggling comedy team

Lincoln (Neb.) Journal 5/6/77

12 on their way to cruise among dead in plane crash

The Dallas Morning News 4/3/77

The Assembly passed and sent to the Senate a bill requiring dog owners in New York City to clean up after their pets, on penalty of a \$100 fine. The bill also applies to Buffalo.

The New York Times 5/24/77

In the long run, the metric system will simplify our lies. Our business and industry will be based on the same simple measurement system used universally.

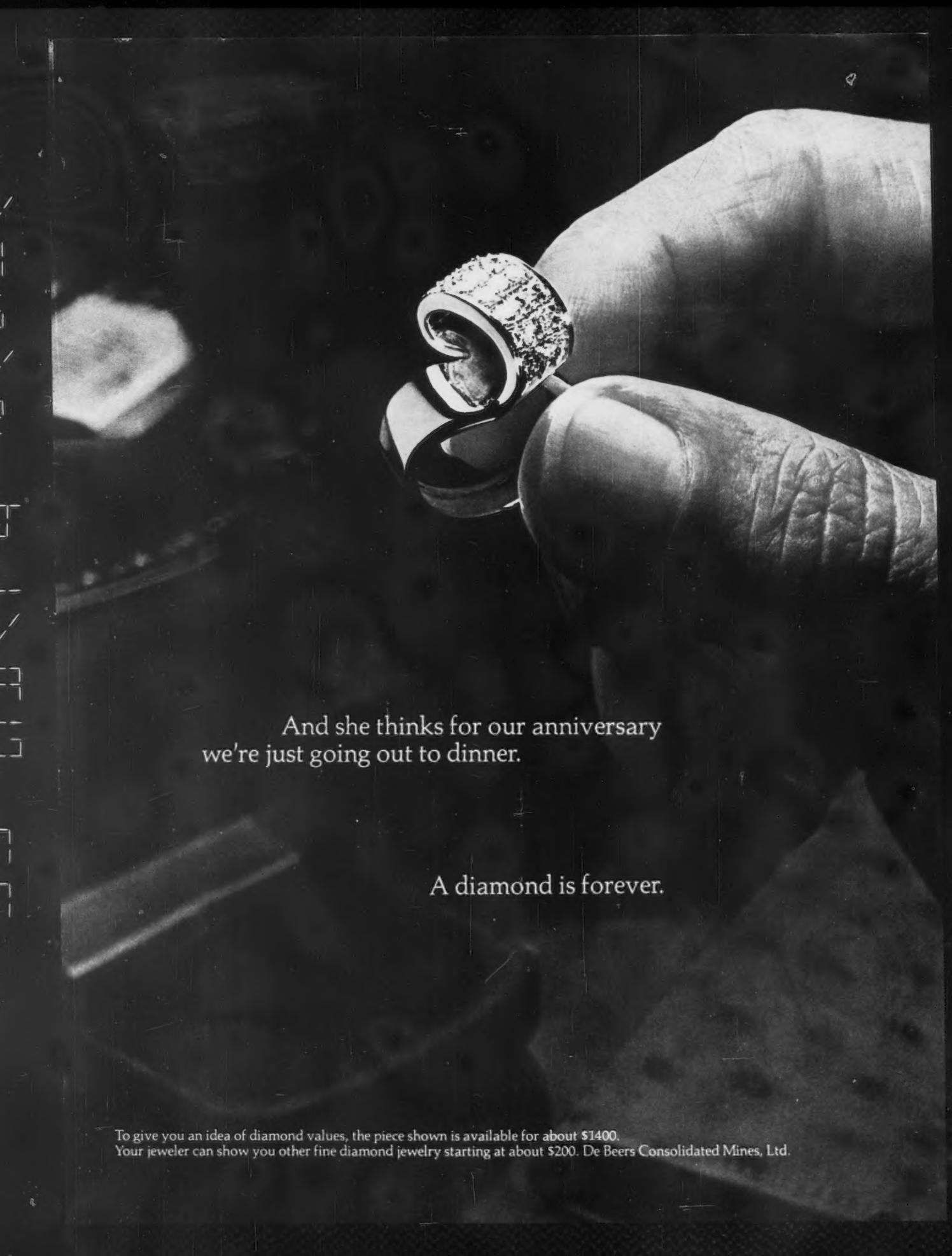
The Tulsa World 4/28/77

As a frivolous flapper she quickly made a series of spin-offs, including "Our Modern Maidens," "Laughing Sinners" and "This Modern Age." Endowed with a low voice, she easily made the transition to sound pictures and went on to become one of the more-endurable movie queens.

The New York Times 5/11/77

FTC Dogs Used Cars

Seattle Post-Intelligencer 4/25/77



And she thinks for our anniversary
we're just going out to dinner.

A diamond is forever.

To give you an idea of diamond values, the piece shown is available for about \$1400.
Your jeweler can show you other fine diamond jewelry starting at about \$200. De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.

